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NATIONAL REVIEW

Looking Back on Civil Disobedience

SIDNEY HOOK
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Cultivating the (Conservative) Stereotype

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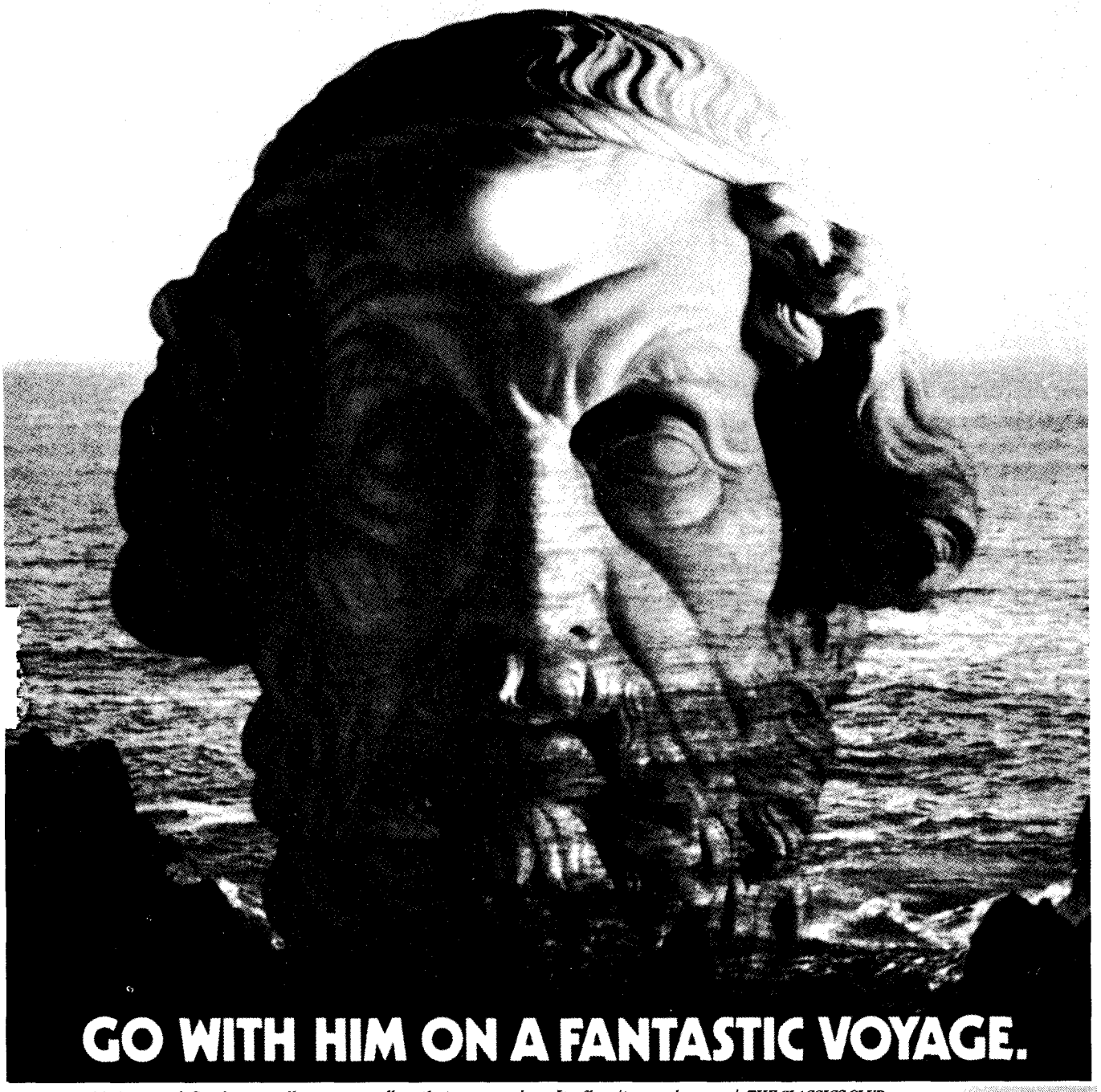

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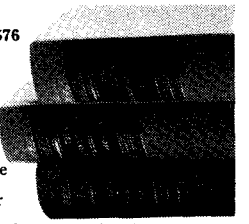

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In This Issue . . .

About a year ago, **Ernest van den Haag** was commissioned to write an article on civil disobedience for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In due course he produced a definitive essay, it was accepted, and he was paid for it. But that was the beginning, rather than the end, of the story. To his surprise, van den Haag next was informed that his essay would not in fact be printed. Professor **Sidney Hook** here wonders aloud about the motives behind this surprising behavior. Is the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, venerable institution that it is, becoming soft? Professor Hook is formally a socialist, but primarily, he is a libertarian. The van den Haag essay, which *NR* refuses to suppress, will be brought out in an expanded version this spring by Harper and Row. . . . In conversation once, Pitirim Sorokin dismissed a hostile review as comparatively innocuous by observing, "But, ah, I have been reviewed by Lenin!" The non-economist Barbara Ward is now similarly and forever insulated against her future critics: **Colin Clark** provides a devastating commentary on her new book *The Angry Seventies*. . . . Pete Hamill has been appearing three times a week as a columnist in the *New York Post*, and he now seems to be enjoying a small apotheosis as one of the foci of Working-Class Chic. You first read your Robert Coles, a Harvard psychologist who has not only *talked* with cops and stevedores but actually printed *pictures* of them. Then you turn to Hamill's beer-mug diatribes and earthy wisdom. Before you know it, Lenny Bernstein will be having hod-carriers in for cocktails and hors d'oeuvres. **C. H. Simonds** casts an appraising eye on the Hamill phenomenon. —J.H.

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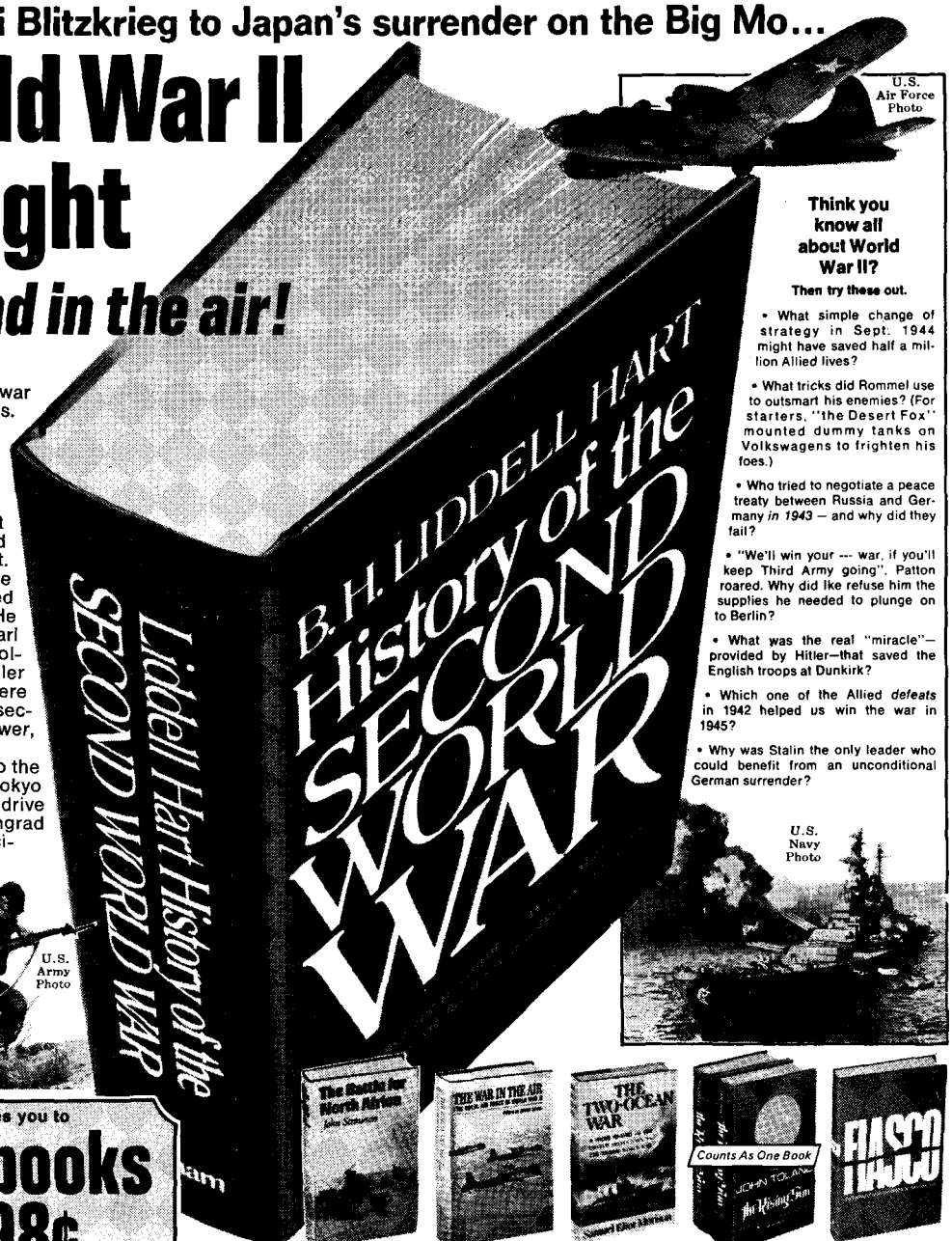

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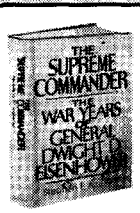

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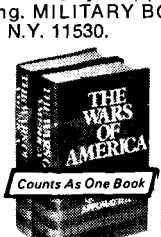

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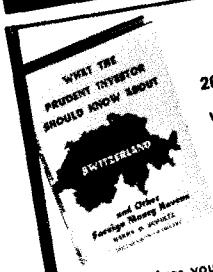

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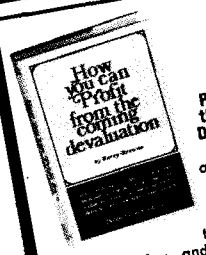

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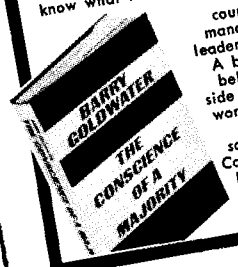

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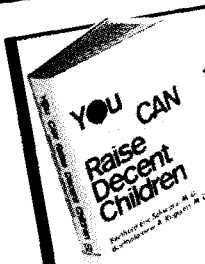

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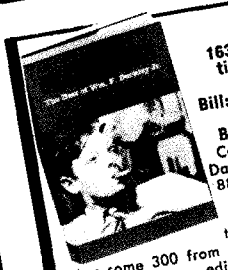

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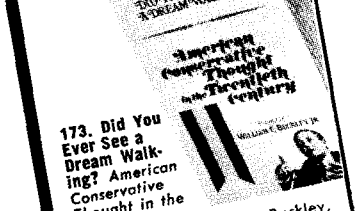

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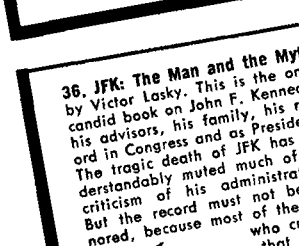

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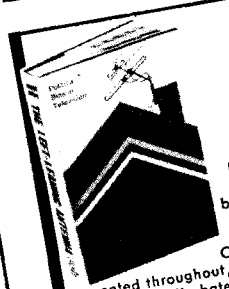

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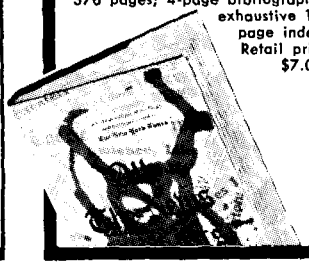
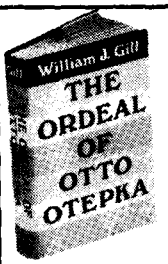
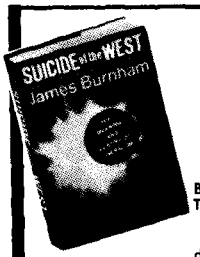
185. The Riot Makers. Eugene H. Methvin, Washington Associate Editor of *Reader's Digest*, tells how to stop the revolution and make America safe again for decent people: The 7 stages for starting a riot. Preconditioning. How revolutionaries are trained in Havana, Peking, Moscow. How *"martyrs" are created. Staged* funerals. "Bombshell of a book . . ." — Holmes Alexander, *Human Events*. Retail price $10.00.

145. All the News That Fits. Herman H. Dinsmore, a former *New York Times* editor, exposes *the four tactics used* by the *Times* to slant and suppress news it finds "unfit to print." Result: news coverage that makes Leftists rub their hands with glee. 376 pages; 4-page bibliography; exhaustive 18-page index. Retail price $7.00.





147. The Ordeal of Otto Otepka by William J. Gill. How *State Department* employee Otepka fought the establishment — JFK, RFK, LBJ, Rostow, Rusk, etc. to alert America to Communist influence at the highest levels of our government. The *book has been exhaustively developed* from original sources, many of them unpublished or deliberately hidden from public view. Retail price $8.00.



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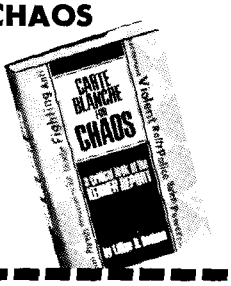

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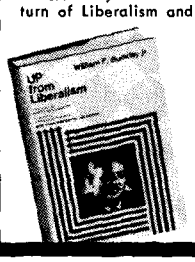

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615 BREWER & SHIPLEY Shake Off The Demons
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Decca LP, 8TR, CASS

827 CHER
Kapp LP, 8TR, CASS

035 JOAN BAEZ
Blessed Are . . .
(2 record set)
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063 ISAAC HAYES/ SHAFT (ST)
(2 record set)
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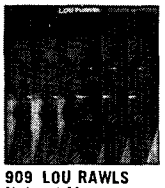
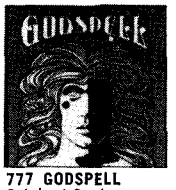
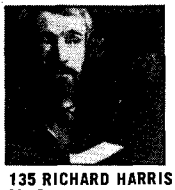


909 LOU RAWLS
Natural Man
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

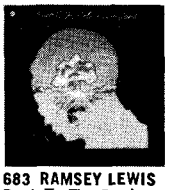


777 GODSPELL
Original Cast
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS



135 RICHARD HARRIS
My Boy
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

043 FIDDLER ON THE ROOF
(2 record set)
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS



683 RAMSEY LEWIS
Back To The Roots
Cadet LP, 8TR, CASS

313 JOAN BAEZ/ CARRY IT ON (ST)
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

600 OCEAN Put Your Hand In The Hand
KamSu LP, 8TR, CASS

420 IKE & TINA TURNER 'Nuff Said
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

270 DIONNE WARWICKE
Greatest Movie Hits
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

705 CHOPIN
Polonaises
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

684 LONDON HOWLIN' WOLF SESSIONS
Chess LP, 8TR, CASS

373 QUINTESSENTIAL EARL HINES
Chiar LP, 8TR, CASS

712 LOS INDIOS TABA-JARAS
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

707 RCOA STEREO SYSTEMS TEST RECORD
Yorks LP

267 DIONNE WARWICKE
I'll Never Fall In Love Again
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

355 THE 101 STRINGS
Beatles' Million Seller Hits
Alshi LP

275 CANNED HEAT
Live At Topanga Corral
Wand LP, 8TR, CASS

708 HANDEL
Water Music
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

773 LAWRENCE OF ARABIA Original Soundtrack
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

383 RUTH BATCHELOR
Songs For Women's Liberation
Femme LP

763 5TH DIMENSION
Love's Lines, Angles & Rhymes
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

353 THE 101 STRINGS
Love Story
Alshi LP

760 PARTRIDGE FAMILY Up To Date
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

100 THREE DOG NIGHT
Golden Bisquits
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

778 STAMPEDERS
Sweet City Woman
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

704 BEETHOVEN
Piano Sonatas
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

779 DAWN
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

903 THE DONNY OSMOND ALBUM
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HOW MUCH MUST YOU SPEND TO FULFILL YOUR LEGAL OBLIGATION?	$83.76 to $95.76	$41.88 to $47.88	$59.76 to $83.76	$49.80 to $59.80	$46.68 to $64.68	**ZERO DOLLARS** You don't have to spend a penny—because you're not "legally obligated" to buy even a single record or tape!
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MOODY BLUES—Every Good Boy Deserves Favour	Thres	5.98	**2.04**
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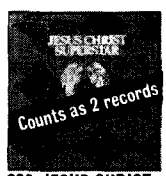
205 ROD STEWART
Every Picture Tells A Story
Mercu LP, 8TR, CASS

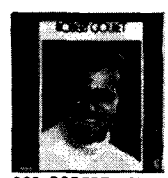
277 B. J. THOMAS
Greatest Hits Vol. 2
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

774 5TH DIMENSION
Reflections
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

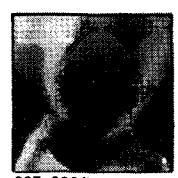


060 JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR
(2 record set)
Decca LP, 8TR, CASS

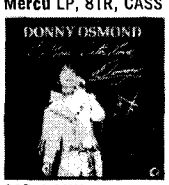
123 STEPPENWOLF
For Ladies Only
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS



906 ROBERT GOULET
I Never Did As I Was Told
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS



905 2001:
A Space Odyssey
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS



907 DONNY OSMOND
To You With Love, Donny
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

900 OSMONDS
Homemade
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

308 JOAN BAEZ
Joan Baez 5
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

770 PARTRIDGE FAMILY SOUND MAGAZINE
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

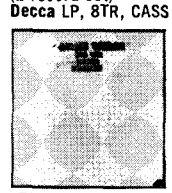
764 MOUNTAIN
Nantucket Sleighride
Windf LP

380 ABBIE HOFFMAN
Wake Up America!
BigTo LP, 8TR, CASS

117 JAMES GANG
Live In Concert
ABC LP, 8TR, CASS

354 THE 101 STRINGS
Webb & Bacharachs' Million Seller Hits
Alshi LP

700 TCHAIKOVSKY
1812 Overture
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS



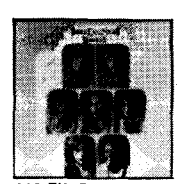
370 JAMES TAYLOR &
The Flying Machine
Eupho LP

908 ERIC BURDON & JIMMY WITHERSPOON
Guilty
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

263 B. J. THOMAS
Greatest Hits Vol. 1
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

119 GRASS ROOTS
Their 16 Greatest Hits
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

264 GUESS WHO
Born In Canada
Wand LP, 8TR, CASS



118 THREE DOG NIGH
Harmony
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

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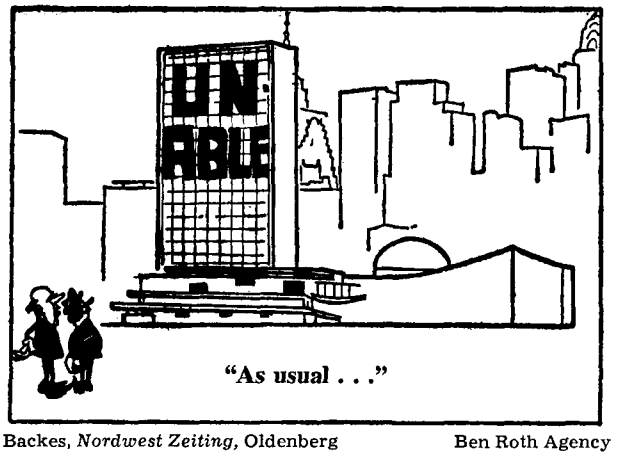
FOR THE RECORD

■ Watch for the late **Charles Goodell** to endorse a Democratic Presidential contender (other than **John Lindsay**) in February. . . . They hate, just *hate* Lindsay over at **George McGovern**'s HQ; see him as Number One competitor for the soft-left vote, so agents have been sent to NYC to dig hard for damaging information. . . . Political mastermind **F. Clifton White** not available to help **John Ashbrook**'s primary campaigns; he's signed on with ad agency being set up to handle **Nixon** in the big race. . . . Ashbrook not bothered by prospect of New Hampshire ice and snow—he spent Christmas 1946 in Antartica, with **Admiral Byrd**'s last expedition. . . . **Pete McCloskey** losing friends (never had many to begin with); latest is Maine GOP Chairman **Charles E. Morehead**, who welcomed McCloskey's bid but is now furious over his all-but-endorsement of **Muskie**, calls him a "publicity-seeking opportunist." . . . Big feud in Illinois: Millionaire Nixon-backer (and -friend) **W. Clement Stone** says state GOP should have paid him back for "loans" to past campaigns; Governor **Richard Ogilvie** replies it's not so—and Stone won't be a delegate-at-large to Republican Convention if he, Ogilvie, has anything to say about it. Which he has, but so has Nixon. . . . **Law Enforcement Assistance Administration** has granted City of Miami $400,000 for special equipment, training, to handle security for Democratic National Convention.



"As usual . . ."

Backes, *Nordwest Zeiting*, Oldenberg — Ben Roth Agency

■ Two staffers on Rep. **Harley Staggers**' (D., W. Va.) Investigations Subcommittee of House Commerce Committee said to be in NYC, hunting for evidence of news-staging by TV networks. Staggers still fuming over quashing of his subpoena of CBS *Selling of the Pentagon* out-takes. . . . Philadelphia Mayor **Frank Rizzo** a racist? Uh-uh, said **Sammy Davis Jr.** on *Mike Douglas Show*: "I know where his head is and where his heart is," and the racism label is "unfair." **NAACP**, furious, warned Davis to watch out or lose "credibility as a sincere freedom fighter." Replied Davis: "The brother on the corner will know I had a damn good reason to say what I said." . . . Liberal Republican **Ripon Society** glad Nixon vetoed antifamily "Child Development" Bill—because it would "reduce the funds available for a serious effort to fight poverty" (like Family Assistance Plan, which Ripon's all for). . . . Ripon caught in the act, trading mailing lists with left-wing **Council for a Livable World**, which since 1962 has given over $1 million to political campaigns of 39 Democrats, five (liberal) Republicans.

■ Odd, announcement that **Ireland** will open embassy in Moscow. The policy has always been to have embassies only where there's enough trade to warrant; Ireland's trade with **USSR** is tiny, and the balance is unfavorable to Ireland. . . . **Donald Duck** and all the **Disney** gang under attack in Chile—book issued by government publishing house calls them "class enemies." Reports say government-sponsored comic books, heavy with socialist propaganda, are way outsold by Donald et al. . . . Poll shows 79 per cent of **West German voters** feel friendship with U.S. more important than with any other country. Lagging behind: **England** (7 per cent), **Soviet Union** (3 per cent). . . . Do they get to choose? Convicted drug pushers in Rhodesia can get ten years, R$10,000 fine, and/or a whipping.

■ **Gloria Steinem**'s femlib slick, *Ms.*, off to a good start; press run for first issue just boosted to 300,000. Mag's all-lady staff mostly recruited from trendy *New York*. . . . Meanwhile **George Hirsch**, former publisher of *New York*, and **Jimmy Breslin**, former staff writer, say they'll bring out new fortnightly to "do the same job *New York* was supposed to do," and it "won't have no third-string girls writing for it." . . . Don't lend **Valerie Solanas** your gun: **Andy Warhol**'s newest flick is transvestite spoof of women's liberation. . . . Sharp-tongued, trash-mouthed Rep. **Bella Abzug** (D., Ms., N.Y.) a little less liberated just now; has to keep silent for indefinite period following throat operation.

■ Surrealism in Everyday Life: Liberal **Federation of American Scientists** wants Congress to amend Stennis-Javits War Powers Act to forbid President from "any first" use of nuclear weapons without consent of Congress. . . . **U Thant** has been offered a professorship at **Kent State**.

■ In endorsement of Muskie, Sen. **John Tunney** (D., Calif.) praised him as "decisive." A newsman, recalling some Muskie wafflings, asked if Tunney and Muskie shared the same definition of "decisive." "Well," Tunney replied, "yes and no."

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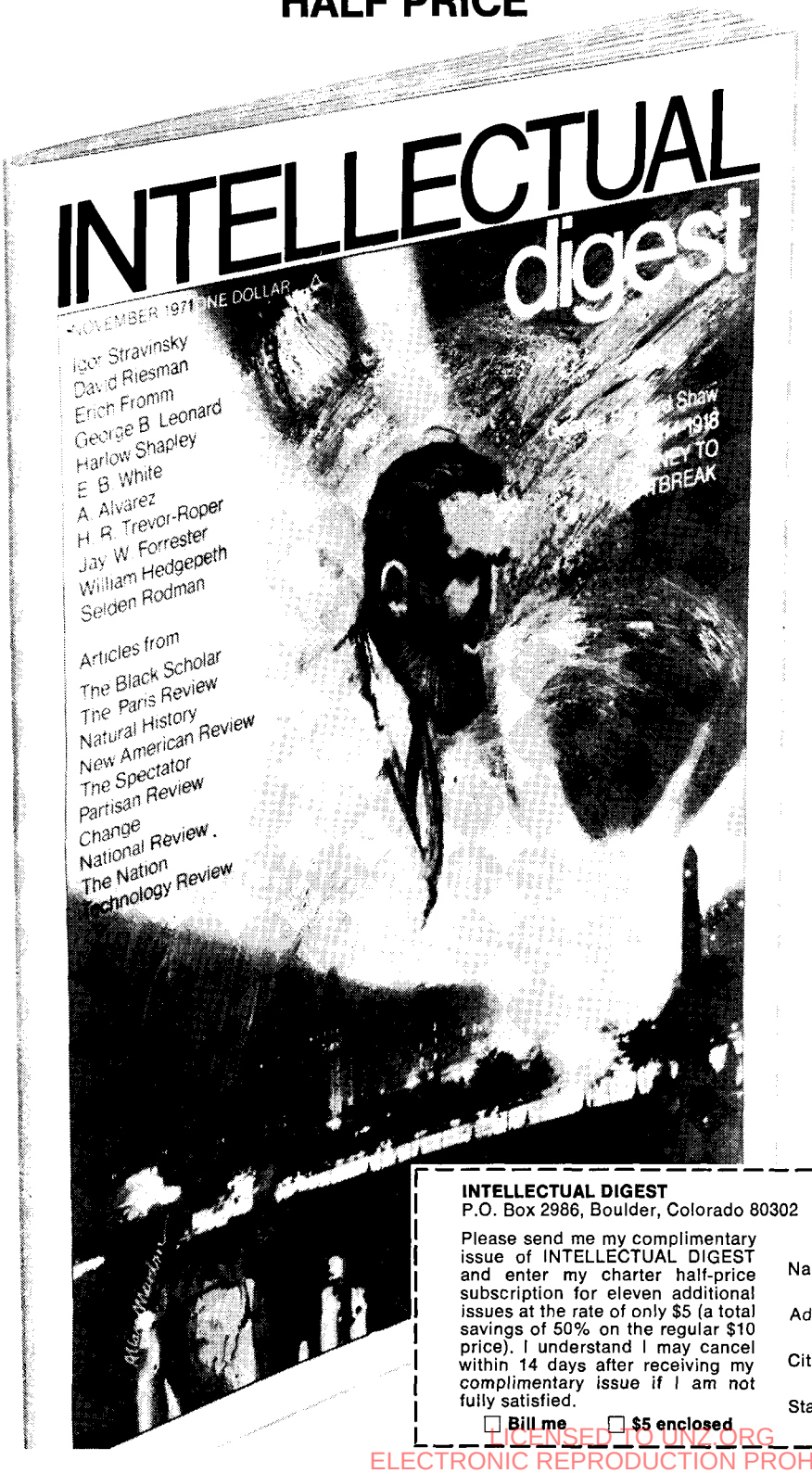

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- **Gore Vidal attacks the fallacy of the male imperative and asks why the male ego can't accept the female challenge to its dominance.** *(N.Y. Review of Books)*

- **Arnold Toynbee looks at man's development for an answer to today's question: Is religion superfluous?** *(Surviving The Future)*

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LETTERS

Liberals and the New Left

In "A Liberal Draws the Line" [Dec. 17] Samuel McCracken formulates the relationship between "the thugs" of the New Left and the liberals in a way that lets the liberals off entirely. The disruption to which the country has been subjected is not "the nasty spawn" of liberal principles. The New Left ideology, he says, is a heresy, and for heresies the orthodoxies from which they spring are not to be blamed. But the responsible conservative knows that what the thugs have done is to carry liberal principles to their logical conclusions. As a child, the New Left thug heard liberals ridicule patriotism, accuse the country of unwarranted aggression, deny the personal responsibility of the criminal; he heard firm principles ridiculed as bigoted absolutism, he saw the liberal's tenderness for draft-dodgers, he heard the president of a great university declare that no black man would get justice from the nation's courts—what didn't he see or hear? The young thug in the making was in basic agreement with liberalism since he had its values pounded into his head at home, in the school and the church. But it was not difficult for him to see that the liberal, satisfied with melioration, was not serious. The New Left thug concluded that the liberal, whether he knew it or not, was a hypocrite. And since radical truthfulness was a virtue that the thug kidded himself into believing he espoused, he took the next step: The thing to do was to wreck the joint.

To understand the relationship between the liberal and the New Left, let the conservative start with Dostoevsky's *The Possessed*. I do not advise liberals to read the novel because long experience taught me that liberals avoid such understanding.

Wilmette, Ill. ELISEO VIVAS

Wicker v. Bilak

A few days before reading Alex Martin's "How To Overrun Czechoslovakia" [Dec. 17], I happened upon an old column by Tom Wicker I had tucked away. The contrast between Wicker's sanguine predictions in August 1968 and the reality of the situation as revealed by the Bilak transcript shows how it is possible to reach spectacularly wrong conclusions by starting from the premise that the Soviets are "reasonable."

A few days before the Russian invasion Wicker wrote: "[T]hat the Soviets, who have the power to crush the Czechs almost overnight, do not appear willing to do so, and that Dubcek went to Cierna so truly representative of his country's will, teaches the . . . useful lesson that the conjunction of ideas and circumstances can be more powerful than armies." (According to Bilak, the Russians told the Czechs at Cierna: "We have never in our lives taken part in a negotiation like this one. Tell us, what kind of method is this of collecting signatures to show that the people are behind you, that you are united?")

Wicker: "[T]his is not 1956 or Hungary; even with the disregard of world opinion it so often has shown when its real interests were at stake, Moscow has a weak position in internal Czech politics and no good opportunity to impose by force or by coup a more malleable regime with a chance of standing on its own feet." (Bilak, 1969: "Any organization that does not agree must be dissolved. Surely two or three reliable people can be found in each one to start a new organization. Perhaps we shall lose a hundred thousand members, perhaps 200 thousand. . . . But it is necessary to instill confidence and certainty that this Party has enough strength and ability to return to the positions on which it was based and built. . . . Then, at last, we shall build a contented fatherland for all our people, we will reestablish a life of plenty and the glory of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and make our alliance with the Soviet Union even firmer.")

Burlington, Vt. JEAN JEFFRIES

Nostra Culpa

John Kaplan's article, "Vindication of John Bricker" [Dec. 17], refers to "the late Senator John Bricker."

John is alive and active (I saw him yesterday!), a resident of our town and senior partner of one of the better law firms in Columbus—Bricker, Evatt, Barton & Eckler.

Upper Arlington, Ohio GEORGE H. SAVILLE

Military Justice

Professor Ernest van den Haag ["When Is a Crime a War Crime?," Nov. 5] correctly states the military forces are partially to blame for the erosion of discipline in Vietnam, since the military justice system has not energetically prosecuted those suspected of military offenses. His analysis goes astray, however, when it imputes the laxity of the military justice system to the military's inclination to cover up sources of bad publicity. This faulty analysis leads to a suggested remedy that would probably be worse than the current situation,

(Continues on page 59)

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The Racism that Liberals Applaud—exposed for the first time!

THE NEW RACISM *Reverse Discrimination in America*

By Lionel Lokos

470 pages, illustrated with police photographs, many never before published. Thoroughly documented with 41 pages of Notes. Comprehensive Index of over 830 entries. Explosive Appendix: *Black Panther Plans for Control of Black High School Students.* A Selection of the Conservative Book Club.

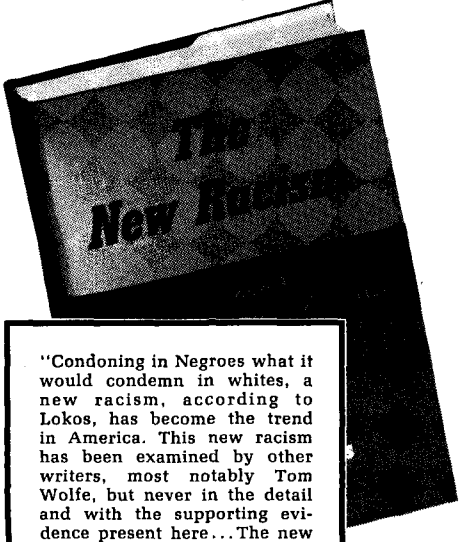
WHAT WOULD HAPPEN if a white group demanded that five states be given over entirely to whites and the blacks expelled? What would be the reaction if a white group trained its members in small arms and engaged in guerrilla warfare against the police? What if still another group — a religious denomination — preached that whites embodied all that is good and blacks all that is evil? What if the members of these groups hated our country so much that they didn't even consider themselves Americans? We all know what the reaction would be!

Now reread the paragraph above and substitute black for white. Insert names like Black Muslims, Black Panthers, and the Republic of New Africa. And suddenly the opinions of far too many leaders and bureaucrats do a somersault. Now we hear unctuous deference . . . the refusal to call sedition by its right name . . . endless articles, all of which might well be called "Uriah Heep Meets the Black Revolution" . . . no condemnation of the subversives — only of their opponents.

This, says Lionel Lokos, is nothing less than the New Racism which, he charges, "refuses even to acknowledge its name." Yet it "can summon many of the most respected personages in America to swear that it really is not racism at all; this New Racism considers it the highest public good to seek out and admit more and more Negroes to our best colleges — and employ more and more Negroes in our best companies — *not* because of ability or achievement but, quite frankly, because of the color of their skin. And to those who object, the answer seems to be that it is racist to *call* this racist."

The author exposes hundreds of explosive examples of the New Racism (most of which you didn't read about in the *New York Times*):

- *Black Panther Coloring Book* — a child's garden of murder.
- What President Nixon said about black revolutionaries. Why a White House aide said: "If that gets in the press, we're dead."
- Dismaying endorsement of reverse discrimination by a famous conservative.
- Black anti-Semitism — and the Liberal Jewish reaction to it.
- The killers of Malcolm X: why their race is never mentioned.
- Conservative leader calls for election of black President in 1980. The author's reply.
- Does the press play down violence and terror in ghetto schools? Some startling charges.
- "Oh, say can you see by the devil's dim light?" Full text of Black National Anthem.
- The tragedy of the black moderate.
- Black judge orders police to release black suspects in murder of white policeman *who hadn't even drawn his gun.*
- How President Nixon and the ADA team up to push preferential hiring for Negroes.
- Militants blackmail the churches.
- The truth about black-studies programs. Laughable "non-negotiable" demands (laughable, that is, until colleges bow to them).
- Communist influences on the black separatist movement.
- Can black separatists be citizens of the U.S. *and* an African country? The Supreme Court's chilling decision.
- Cornell University: armed blacks and spineless whites.
- The university that outlawed discrimination by white fraternities, then set up an all-black dormitory.
- Black sabotage on auto assembly lines.
- Ideas for reaching the Black Silent Majority.



"Condoning in Negroes what it would condemn in whites, a new racism, according to Lokos, has become the trend in America. This new racism has been examined by other writers, most notably Tom Wolfe, but never in the detail and with the supporting evidence present here... The new racism, built on assumptions about the inferiority of the Negro, is a nearly perfect prescription for the destruction of moral strength and for the denial of dignity."
— *National Review*

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THE WEEK

■ RAISED EYEBROW DEPARTMENT (from the *New Yorker*, December 25, 1971): "With seemingly little help from the great national governments of the world, peace has come to South Asia. In a season of miracles, let us just call it a miracle."

■ So you did get the People's Suit for Christmas. The lovely blue thing Bloomingdale's imported from the land of the happy Maosketeers. You put on the suit and immediately you notice a bluish hue appearing all over your trendy person. The mimeographed sheet that accompanies your garment tells you that, yes, the indigo dye of the fabric will come off the suit and onto you, but when you continue reading your sheet you find that this is *good*, no, *wonderful*! The dye, the instructions tell you, "is reputed to be a powerful insect repellent. Absorbed into the epidermis of the wearer, it is alleged to protect from mosquito and fly bites." But we were under the impression that there *were* no flies in China.

■ For Christmas President Nixon commuted the sentence of Teamster James Hoffa, allowing him to go home to his family. Now the president of the Teamsters Union, Frank Fitzsimmons, happens to be a Republican and was described by President Nixon as "my kind of labor leader," and the *New York Times* thinks we would be naïve to see behind the President's act only the Spirit of Christmas. Perhaps so, but it would also be naïve to think that politics played no part in Hoffa's conviction, achieved by a relentless Bobby Kennedy, Attorney General, in pursuit of a powerful man who liked neither his nor his brother Jack's politics. Hoffa was convicted by a jury of his peers, as the term is used, but juries don't always reflect the attitude of the community. Hoffa is still president in spirit of the Teamsters, popular with the rank and file, and thought by many to be innocent of the charges of which he was convicted. Of which realities President Nixon may have taken note.

Thank You, Senator Talmadge

You sneaked a work-for-welfare line
Right in a bill he had to sign.
He signed it, saying he agreed,
And how the country has a need
For honest sweat and honest work.
(He sounded just like Edmund Burke.)
I hope he wasn't mouthing pap.
We'll know the day he flushes FAP.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ New York Times, *Jan. 1 (AP)—Formerly top secret British government papers made public today said that President Franklin D. Roosevelt told Prime Minister Winston Churchill in August 1941, that he was looking for an incident to justify opening hostilities against Nazi Germany.*

Churchill's account of Roosevelt's attitude toward the war was contained in the minutes of [a] cabinet meeting. The minutes, quoting Churchill indirectly, said:

"He [Roosevelt] obviously was determined that they should come in.

"If he were to put the issue of peace and war to Congress, they would debate it for months," the cabinet minutes added.

"The President had said he would wage war but not declare it and that he would become more and more provocative. If the Germans did not like it they could attack American forces."

The cabinet minutes reported Churchill's account of an agreement that the United States Navy should operate a supply convoy across the Atlantic, then continued:

"The President's orders to these [United States Navy] escorts were to attack any [German] U-boat which showed itself, even if it were two hundred or three hundred miles away from the convoy. Everything was to be done to force an incident."

The cabinet minutes record that Churchill warned Roosevelt that the Soviet Union might be forced by the Germans to sue for peace in the East, and the British could then lose all hope of America coming into the war. At that time, Nazi troops were advancing across Russia.

"The President had taken this very well and made it clear that he would look for an incident which would justify him in opening hostilities," Churchill told the war cabinet, according to the minutes of the meeting.

HONOR ROLL

John T. Flynn	THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR *(1944)*
George Morgenstern	PEARL HARBOR *(1947)*
Charles Beard	PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR, 1941 *(1948)*
William Henry Chamberlin	AMERICA'S SECOND CRUSADE *(1950)*
John T. Flynn	WHILE YOU SLEPT *(1951)*
Charles Callan Tansill	BACK DOOR TO WAR *(1952)*
Harry Elmer Barnes	PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE *(1953)*
Robert A. Theobald	THE FINAL SECRET OF PEARL HARBOR *(1954)*
Husband E. Kimmel	ADMIRAL KIMMEL'S STORY *(1955)*
George Crocker	ROOSEVELT'S ROAD TO RUSSIA *(1959)*

■ Both General Creighton Abrams and President Richard Nixon had reasons for bombing North Vietnam. Abrams thought the bombing would help keep U.S.

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Memo to: those NR readers who will be interested!

Re: a new book, "The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism," which just

has to be the most disastrous book of the year (for liberals, that is!)

This sizzling book -- it's compact enough to read in one long evening but, like a fine wine, you'll want to savour it -- dishes it out unmercifully to that arrogant band of radical "renewers" who have, to the utter astonishment of friend and foe alike, virtually destroyed the traditional Catholic Church (in this country, at least) in less than a single decade.

No, you don't have to be Catholic to relish this incredible book. Perhaps the most interesting fact about it is that author James Hitchcock is one of theirs: he is described as a "liberal historian" teaching at St. Louis Univ., but his indictment of his fellow liberals is so broad, so penetrating -- so just plain devastating -- that almost any conservative should find himself saying "He's right! He's got it just right." I tried to select some choice quotes for you; I decided that, as I read, I would turn down the ear of every quotable page. Halfway through the book I realized that I was thumbing down almost every page! (How do you choose between this: "In advanced circles it is now permissible to wear a peace medal but not a crucifix ... to chant Buddhist prayers ritualistically but not to use Latin or say the rosary..." and this "attitude" he attributes to radicals: "After centuries of obscurity, the true meaning of the Gospel is now being discovered by progressives. With rare exceptions, the Church has been unfaithful to the Gospel for at least 1600 years. The Protestant churches, although initially their influence was healthy, have been similarly corrupted through most of their history."

This book will delight, anger and most certainly inform you. I found myself breaking out into indignation one minute and a loud guffaw the next (Hitchcock seems to have saved up every silly statement ever made by the various radical spokesmen!). Of course, being a liberal himself, the author thinks that the renewers just went too far: thus when he points out results of "Aggiornamento" that conservatives would have considered inevitable, he brings a refreshing sense of outrage to it all -- undulled by the awful sorrow-among-the-ruins depression long since felt by most traditionalists.

More, this book is chock full of references, citations and embarrassing quotes from the liberal press (from The New York Times to Commonweal) that provide enough ammunition for a thousand arguments and discussions. You'll love this book, and will want to keep it handy for frequent reference. And you can get your copy right now, just by using the card facing this page to subscribe or renew now (we'll extend your current subscription for one full year from its present expiration date). You pay only the regular $12 rate for National Review, and get this priceless book for a mere $2.95! (The regular retail price is $6.50 -- but I'd be darned surprised if you can even find it in your local bookstore -- so you save $3.55 with this offer.) Use the card facing this page today!

J.P.K.

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Primary fights may blight the re-election hopes of a number of Southern Democratic senators. Democrats had expected to do well in the South in 1972, but intraparty fighting, the Presidential campaign and uncertainty about the '72 Wallace drive have created much nervousness. John Sparkman, 72-year-old Chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, will be challenged by Alabama state auditor Melba Allen in the May primary. The winner may face former Postmaster General Winton M. Blount in the general election. In Georgia, newly appointed Senator David Gambrell, successor to the late Richard Russell, faces a primary challenge from Congressman W. S. Stuckey of Eastman. The winner will face either GOP National Committeeman Bo Callaway or popular Atlanta Congressman Benjamin Blackburn, a sometime critic of the Administration and a comer in Georgia politics.

North Carolina's veteran Senator Everett Jordan will probably seek re-election. Thought to be in trouble a year ago, Jordan has mended his fences back home and may be strong enough to avoid a challenge from Congressman Nick Galifinakis. Jordan will try to stay clear of the North Carolina Democratic Presidential primary. In South Carolina Democratic competition for the chance to oppose Strom Thurmond is noticeably less strenuous than it was this summer. Thurmond too, will try to steer clear of Presidential politics.

■ D.C. Mayor Walter Washington may be up for an important ambassadorship in 1972, no matter who wins the White House. Washington, one of the highest ranking Negroes appointed by the Nixon Administration, has maintained close ties with both the White House and Democrats. He is close to Hubert Humphrey and has friends in the Muskie camp. Should either man succeed Nixon, the Mayor is not likely to suffer. His forte is behind-the-scenes politics, and he has no great desire to be a leader of people, so the question of a diplomatic post is being seriously considered.

If the President is re-elected and Washington gets an ambassadorship, his successor would probably be either Democrat Joseph Yeldell, an LBJ man and now Director of the District's Department of Human Resources, or D.C. Council Vice Chairman Sterling Tucker, who has recently made noises about becoming a Republican. Mayor Washington's wife, Dr. Benetta Washington, also gets along well with Republicans and Democrats. She may join her husband in the diplomatic corps, with a post of her own, or be tapped for a major Administration job.

■ The belt is being tightened considerably for this year's presidentabili, with airlines and telephone companies demanding either payment in advance or solid guarantees. The Democratic National Committee still has hefty unpaid bills from the 1968 campaigns and income for 1972 has been somewhat below expectations. Three Democratic candidates are doing reasonably well financially: Edmund Muskie, who is now front-runner and well enough off to have stopped worrying about funds; Hubert Humphrey, who enjoys strong financial support from veteran backers cultivated over his twenty-year career; and George McGovern, whose $10 and $20 contributions solicited through mailings and advertising have proved enough to sustain a major campaign operation.

Hurting are Henry Jackson, whose campaign has hit the post-natal doldrums; Paul McCloskey, for whom money has begun to run dry as his issues are co-opted by the President; and George Wallace, whose money-raising newsletter is said to be doing less well than he claims. The President, of course, has no financial problems. Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien thinks his party needs $20 million to beat the President. GOP insiders put their war chest about double that; Wallace will be lucky to put together $7 million.

■ The President's most serious practical problem with disillusioned conservatives is in New York State. Should the Conservative Party run a Presidential candidate of its own, Nixon would almost certainly be unable to carry New York. He is known to want to run on both the Republican and Conservative lines, but as right-wing disaffection grows, the chance of a Republican-Conservative tie-up fades. Although there is little danger of the Conservative Party mounting a full-fledged campaign against the President, even the denial of a place on the line would hurt.

—CATO

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casualties low, safeguard the next troop withdrawal and blunt a Hanoi offensive. Nixon's main reasons were to show the North Vietnamese he would not tolerate their increasing of war supplies or their shooting at U.S. planes. The timing was carefully reasoned. Bombing started a couple of days after Christmas and ended a couple of days before 1972. As it happens, this is the time when colleges are closed for Christmas recess, so the kids couldn't mobilize. Alas, Christmas only comes once a year and the betting is that St. Nix is going to have to bomb again—fairly soon.

■ There's still *some* hope left. It was revealed three years ago, you may recall, that a dreadful creature, the Crown of Thorns starfish, was gobbling up all the coral in the oceans. His appetite, the story went, had been unleashed by—as anyone could have guessed—DDT finding its way into the water after having swelled the profits of the military-industrial complex. In practically no time the resulting upset in the ecological balance was going to make the earth uninhabitable, beginning with Australia and Hawaii, which would be turned into wastelands as their protecting coral barriers disappeared down Crown of Thorns gullets. Hawaii Senator Hiram Fong got an initial $5-million appropriation passed to deal with the emergency, and the media were filled with pathetic underwater photographs of dead and dying coral. Well, you guessed it again. It now turns out that all's well on the reefs, with starfish and coral settled back in their normal digestive cycle. Apparently all that had happened was that "people had merely begun to notice the animal for the first time." John E. Bardach, Director of the Hawaii Institute of Marine Biology, summed up: "The situation has been a prime example of what happens when people try to solve an ecological problem through biopolitical means. . . . There is no such thing as instant ecology but unfortunately politicians need steam for their engines."

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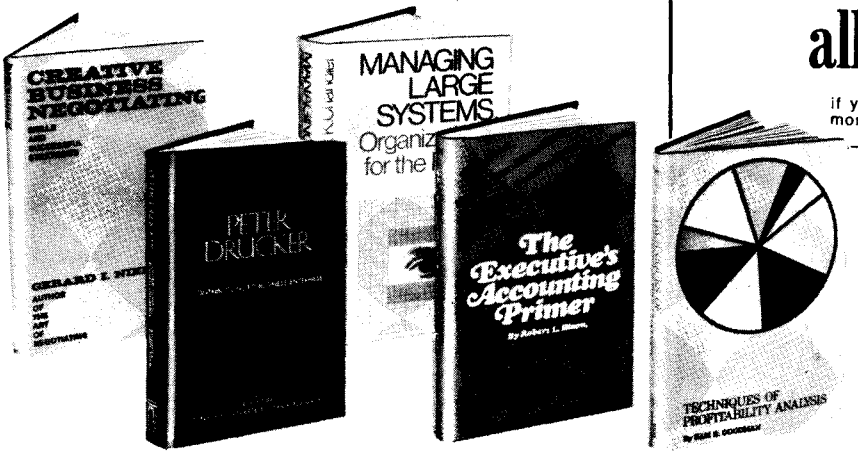

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■ President Nixon has signed a bill containing Senator Talmadge's interesting amendment, which requires recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children to register for work or training unless they are under sixteen, ill, elderly or mothers of children under six years old. The bill also provides a guaranteed annual income of $2,400 to a family of four, and allows a combination of work and welfare of up to $4,320, thus providing some incentive to work. The vehemence with which the National Welfare Rights Organization attacked the "stupidity" of the work requirement seems incongruous alongside the organization's statement that "only a tiny number of people on welfare are employable." If welfare recipients are truly unemployable, then they would be exempt from the work requirement, and the bill would simply have no effect. Experience in California, however, where a similar work requirement was largely responsible for reducing welfare rolls by 137,000 from March through October, suggests that the Talmadge amendment may, even as it brings Lazybones out of the noonday sun, bring the welfare bureaucracy out of the ideological doldrums.

■ On January 1 the Air Force reported that four weeks earlier Cosmos 462, a Soviet military device, had been launched into a relatively low orbit, had been steered close to the already orbiting Cosmos 459, and had then blown up itself and its companion. This event completed tests carried out earlier on satellites at more distant orbits, and proves that the Soviet Union now possesses the ability to destroy, at will, virtually any satellite, military, scientific or commercial, in any orbit. The precision with which guidance, control and destruct mechanisms functioned in these tests, moreover, has compelled Pentagon analysts to raise their working estimates of the reliability of Soviet strategic missile, antimissile and fractional orbital bombardment systems.

■ At this writing, the future of the British navy in Malta is still uncertain. The withdrawal date for all British forces, announced after Prime Minister Dom Mintoff's Christmas demand for an extra $11 million in "rent," has already been changed from January 1 to January 15 negotiations are continuing and may yet be successful Strategists say that Malta is not absolutely essential to NATO fleets (Sicily is not very far away, and it commands the bottleneck in the Mediterranean equally well). But Mintoff has also been making overtures to the Soviet Union, and, although some observers think he is too independent to want to exchange British domination for Soviet domination, there is always the chance that he will miscalculate and wind up with no choice but to accept Soviet aid. And if that happens, the Soviet Union will be well on its way to controlling the western Mediterranean, as it already controls the eastern Mediterranean.

■ A viewer in Atlanta watched a black college student claim, on a talk show: "Our black brothers are being killed every day in Atlanta," the inference being that whites were doing the killing. He asked his local newspaper to check the facts; the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* went to the Police Department and found that in the first eight months of 1971, in Atlanta (pop. 240,503 white, 255,051 black):

Blacks killed 109 blacks;
Whites killed 19 whites;
Blacks killed 14 whites;
Whites killed one black.

The Ashbrook Candidacy

During the past year the views of *NR*'s staff on the domestic political situation have corresponded closely, we judge, to those of the conservative community at large: we have been much and increasingly disturbed by a number of the major policies and tendencies of the Administration. And we have had doubts and disagreements concerning what conservatives should try to do about it. With the formal entry of Rep. John Ashbrook into the New Hampshire primary, the doubts and disagreements are resolved for at least the next several months. We support John Ashbrook now that he has entered the race; and we believe he should have the support of all American conservatives.

The Administration policies, and—perhaps even more important—the tendencies that have caused conservative dismay, are not trifling or incidental. Let us list some of the most significant.

1) During the three years of the Nixon Administration the strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States has continuously shifted against the United States. The U.S. has already lost the strategic superiority it held throughout the postwar generation The diversity of the systems that compose a modern nation's strategic armament makes a summary calculation difficult. But it is no longer disputed by the experts that, if the U.S. is not already strategically inferior to the Soviet Union, it will unquestionably become inferior in the near future unless the current trends are not merely modified but reversed. Over the past years, and conspicuously in the India-Pakistan war, our weakening strategic position has been plainly reflected in our lessened international authority.

Now it may be that, granted the mood of the country in these years just past, Mr. Nixon could not have persuaded Congress to do any better by our nation's security But what is perhaps more alarming than the military slump iself is that *Mr. Nixon has failed to communicate, or even to try to communicate, its existence and its urgency*. The strategic shift quite literally threatens the nation's survival. Until public opinion comes to under

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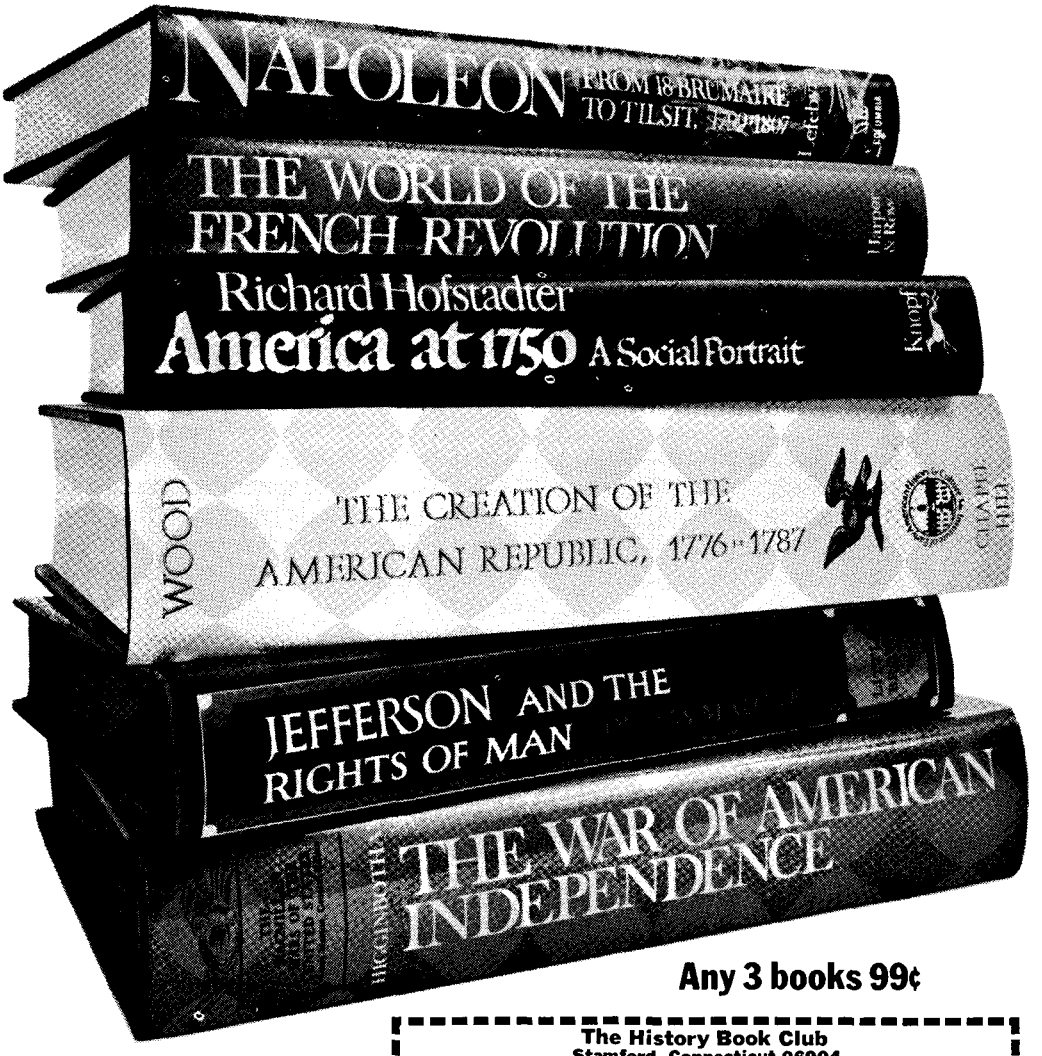
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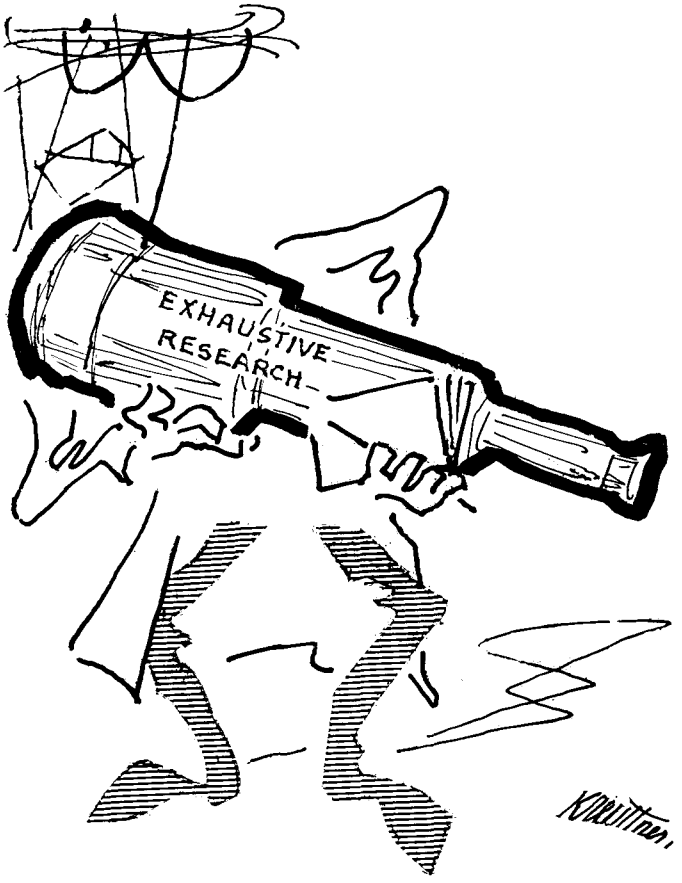
stand and feel this, it is not likely that anything serious will be done about it, no matter what proposals may from time to time be made in or to Congress. And this is the kind of truth that only the President can communicate convincingly.

2) The control apparatus instituted by Mr. Nixon as part of his New Economic Policy is not merely a direct repudiation of the doctrines he has professed and of his explicit campaign pledges in 1968. It is an assault on the freedom of the citizens to deal with each other, a massive turn toward regimentation and centralized rule, toward authoritarian "government by decree." It is also, as we are all learning day by day, a bureaucratic monstrosity. Not only was it unnecessary, but as the experience of many other nations testifies, it will prove ineffective, an added and costly burden to the economy, not its savior. But it is its rude curtailment of freedom, more than any practical economic deficiency, that calls for its rejection. Those citizens with a feeling for history will have shivered as they read the prediction of Paul McCracken (see below), just resigned as chief economic adviser to the President, that controls will not end with Phase II, but will stretch indefinitely into the future. Popular vision is now blurred by the razzle-dazzle and the signs of moderate economic improvement set in motion by forces present prior to the start of NEP, but we believe disillusion with the control apparatus, and bitterness, will set in rapidly during 1972.

3) In the longer run, moreover, the controls will prove powerless to halt inflation, so long as the more fundamental factors making for inflation continue at work. The control mechanisms will succeed only in disguising the inflation while they distort, strain and cripple the economy. These underlying inflationary forces are present and richly fueled through the fiscal and monetary irresponsibility that has been exhibited by an Administration that entered office with the promise of restoring fiscal health. Although the President has occasionally vetoed a relatively small appropriation of too manifest impropriety, his acceptance, sponsorship and extension of the programs of the Big Society will bring in the next fiscal year the largest deficit in the nation's history, with still larger deficits looming as probable.

4) The huge deficits are the expression of the Administration's seeming conversion to the ideal of the wall-to-wall social-service state, coddling, supervising and controlling the citizens from cradle to grave.

5) Most directly shocking to many conservatives are the signs, especially in the past year, that an Administration under Richard Nixon is not merely playing soft with our avowed enemies, but risking the friendship and support of our proven allies by its manner of playing the new game. It was not so much the political overtures to Communist China that so startled conservatives as the way in which we rudely affronted Japan, Free China, and all the Pacific nations in approaching Peking; and risked, too, the critical strategic interests that are founded on trustworthy relations with the non-Communist states. Similarly, conservatives are astonished at some of the hopes that have been expressed by Administration spokesmen in the kind of disarmament agreement that could come out of the SALT talks with the Soviet Union. Conservatives do not trust Communists.



"I'm glad to report that as of now, the protuberance toward Creeping Patriotism, Reparations Resistance, Heterosexual Fixations and Budget Balancing Paranoia is more homogenized on the beach than in the observatory!"

JOHN ASHBROOK's campaign in New Hampshire translates into both symbol and action these misgivings of the conservatives, and gives all dissenters a chance to express themselves in a mode meaningful and traditional in the American political system. There are those who argue persuasively that it would be a travesty if no Republican primary ballots carried any other names than Richard Nixon's and Paul McCloskey's. Such a ballot would falsify the Republican reality. McCloskey, in truth, is no more than an interloper in Republican mask he belongs where John Lindsay has finally been hones enough to betake himself, not merely in the Democratic Party but in its leftmost wing. At the same time, the name of Richard Nixon, though Nixon was and in all probability will again be the candidate of the entire Republican organization (save for its McCloskey-Lindsay fringe), does not embrace all other tendencies within the party. In particular, the conservative tendency, though it can vote for Nixon, has a distinct philosophical and political existence it is not willing to bring under an amorphous and equivocal label. It would have been—

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many conservatives insist—a sad business if New Hampshire voters (and voters everywhere, who will be identifying themselves with the country's lead-off primary) could have expressed their wish for a changed Republican course only by voting for Paul McCloskey. John Ashbrook has offered them a happier and more fruitful alternative.

We have no notion how the New Hampshire primary will go. We know that there is a very large conservative contingent in the Republican Party, quite probably a majority, but we are not at all certain how conservatives will decide about giving support in primaries to a candidate other than the incumbent leader of both party and nation, even when the alternative is, as it will be with John Ashbrook on the ballot, far closer to them philosophically and politically. We are aware that some of the most venerable among the conservative political leaders of the older generation, among them Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan and John Tower, have, so far, been opposed to any primary challenge from a conservative. Who knows. We hope that, with John Ashbrook now present and accounted for, they will mitigate their opposition to a thoroughly democratic clarification, and help John Ashbrook, and conservatism, score a smashing victory over Paul McCloskey, and thereby redirect the Republican Party toward the course that they and we believe in, and believe essential to the nation's survival.

John Ashbrook is one of an exceedingly rare breed in political life: a man at once of principle and of skill and experience in practical politics. Concerning that first characteristic, Wm. F. Buckley Jr. remarked several years ago: "He shows the kind of political courage by which one distinguishes between those automatons who represent us in Washington and those special others who are human beings endowed with mind and an active conscience . . . a human force in which the high qualities of the statesman come together in profusion." The second is attested by the success with which he has pursued his political career from his leadership of the Young Republican organization and his election to the Ohio Assembly in 1956 through his six successive elections, in spite of two gerrymanders specifically against him, to Congress.

No vote for John Ashbrook will be wasted.

Curtain Going Up

Is this Athena on the wine-dark sea
Assuming the disguise of mortal men?
Or Clarence Darrow with a ghostly plea
For some pot-smoking hippy citizen?
It's neither, fellow voters. Look again.
It's Mayor John V. Lindsay on the make.
Sometimes he weeps like Mary Magdalen;
Sometimes he's mystical as William Blake.
In Florida, he's hollering "Awake!"
This time as an Episcopal divine.
(I wish he'd play *St. Joan*: I've got the stake.)
Next month he'll be your smiling Valentine.
Before you fall for him because he's pretty,
Please check with the besieged in N.Y. City.

W. H. von Dreele

So Good-bye 1971

C. S. Lewis once observed that men do not achieve on earth a condition of settled and secure happiness. Rather, said Lewis, life is like a coach journey along a road with, here and there, a hospitable English country inn. Inside the inn, seated before the fire, one may find cheer and even joy; but the road between the inns is bumpy and cold, and the traveler at length must be moving on.

Given the truth of this analogy, no year can be expected to be other than a mixture of good and bad—though the proportions do vary—and 1971 was no exception.

To deal with the bad first, and some of it was very bad, we had: the Taiwan farce in the UN, peacetime imposition of economic controls, mounting budgetary deficits, busing and suburb-busting absurdities by the bureaucrats, and, worst of all, the metastasis of Soviet power on the Eurasian continent as the strategic position of the U.S. continued to deteriorate. And in a year that saw West Pakistan at war with Bangladesh and India, the IRA at war with England and Ulster, North Vietnam at war with South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the U.S., while Arab and Israeli exchanged threats over Suez, we had sobering evidence that we are not—despite the rhetoric of politicians—about to have peace in our time.

But 1971 was far from all gloom. John Kenneth Galbraith was proved a bad prophet for something like the 37th consecutive month when the Saigon government not only failed to collapse, but, mirabile dictu, seemed to be consolidating its position. What did collapse, instead, was the U.S. Peace Movement—thanks, in considerable part, to the Nixon Administration's adroit shift to Vietnamization plus air support.

Related to the demise of the Peace Movement was a subtle but palpable shift in the national mood. Though Kingman Brewster ambiguously termed it an "eerie tranquility," most students and teachers welcomed the return of calm to the campus. An air of normality also returned to American society generally. Two years ago, amid bombings and revolutionary rhetoric, it was not outlandish to anticipate the spread of urban guerrilla activity in American cities. It has failed to materialize. The change in mood, symbolized by the ubiquitous "smile button" and by the softening of the Rock Sound, has entailed the fading from stage center of the drug-Che counterculture. The visage of Charles Manson appears less often on the street corner; radical chic is now widely perceived for the bogus frivolity it has always been.

And there were many other things to celebrate: the

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failure of George McGovern to get anywhere; the failure of the American family—despite numerous predictions—to roll over and die; Powell and Rehnquist; John Connally's talents as a hard-nosed negotiator in the international economic arena. At the beginning of the year Jim Buckley took his seat in the Senate, and at year's end the stock market came out of its nosedive and surged upward as investors' hopes rose regarding the economic outlook. And, despite the storm clouds, 1971 was the first year since 1948 when Arab and Israeli were not actively shooting at one another.

And finally, during 1971, a great many things quietly faded from the scene—and this process, too, was not all bad. Such as Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman; Nelson Rockefeller's liberal image; Garry Wills' conservative image; Gene McCarthy's image; César Chavez and John Gardner; the Black Panthers; George Wallace's political clout; the idea that India is a benevolent and idealistic nation; the idea that the UN is a hopeful Parliament of Man; and Daniel Ellsberg's "Q" Clearance. In the words of John Dryden: " 'Tis well an old age is out, and time to begin a new."

Secularization of the UN

"Close to bankruptcy—fiscal, political and moral," and "on the brink of impotence." That was the way even the *New York Times* described the UN upon the retirement of U Thant. The expulsion of Taiwan was only the most recent and spectacular example of such wide-ranging bankruptcy. For some time, the superpowers have tacitly agreed that serious matters would be settled, if at all, by direct negotiations rather than through the UN. Other nations, such as France, India and Israel, have ignored its existence when it has suited them to do so.

Until recently it has been U.S. policy, for public consumption at least, to prefer a strong and "activist" Secretary General, such as Trygvie Lie or Dag Hammarskjöld. But in the case of U Thant we observed that a Secretary General responsive to relentless pressure from the Communist and Third-World nations tended with fair consistency to take an anti-Western and anti-U.S. position. Today there is no evidence that U.S. policy-makers much care who, if anyone, tends to the executive functions at Turtle Bay.

Though millenialist rhetoric regarding the UN ekes out a fitful existence in the speeches of Lindsay-type politicians, a salutary realism seems to be prevailing elsewhere. In its technical agencies and as one locus for quiet diplomacy the UN still has a role to play, but it cannot pretend to be the Congress of the World and the Conscience of Mankind.

We have come far from the rather defecated mysticism of Dag Hammarskjöld, and the pretensions it fueled, to the urbane realism of the new Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim of Austria. Nominated for Chancellor last spring by the conservative People's Party, Waldheim was defeated by the Socialist candidate Bruno Kreisky. At the UN he has been known as a diplomat in the older European tradition, working quietly to find areas of practical agreement among rival interests. In his first public statement after nomination by the Security Council he emphasized the fact that "in this position one has to know the limits."

The Higher Journalism

So far, Richard Nixon has proved a peculiarly elusive target for his critics on the Left. His policy in Vietnam has been so cleverly managed that it has been difficult for the Left to focus a credible attack upon it. He has defused the economic issue by "doing something" and there are signs that 1972 will in fact be a "good year"—though by no means because of the policies undertaken on August 15. And so it has gone on issue after issue, until the anti-Nixon Left has been driven back to purely personal forms of attack. Judging by their performance so far, 1972 promises to be a vintage year for the Herblockian smear.

Here is Pete Hamill (see also page 52) flailing away in the *New York Post*: "There he was on the TV set, this peculiar rigid stranger who has ruled us now for three years, laying down the screen of dead stale gas that seems to accompany him everywhere. He sat stiffly, almost primly, as if expecting Dan Rather to ask him whether or not he approved of premarital sex. The large hands protruded from the safety of the suit, possessed of some private independent terror, as if right there on television, in front of millions, they might suddenly turn into feet . . . when the Nixons run the country something dies in all of us, workers and bosses alike. . . . You lean back, watching this masterpiece of *schlock* on the TV set, and you reach for the Schaefer's, and decide that it is easier to forget. We have Nixon for one more year. If he gets another four years after that, forget the country."

Garry Wills has mastered the technique known to connoisseurs as the Bogus Insight, in which vast but actually illusory significance is found in—i.e., read into—some trivial detail. Here is an excellent specimen from one of his recent columns: "One of Richard Nixon's favorite gestures is a clenched right hand held up about shoulder-high, slightly turned in toward him. At his point of emphasis (or a little after) he moves the fist about four inches out and around. In a grown man, the gesture conveys not only pugnacity, but a pugnacity inhibited." Wills goes on to infer that Nixon is willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike, that he throws a punch only when it is safe, that Nixon is simultaneously a bully and a coward.

Ah, the pleasures of the Bogus Insight. Anyone can enjoy them. You just let your mind run. And then you yourself can be the life of the next cocktail party. We ourselves have been studying some old film clips of John F. Kennedy and Harry Truman, and from their oratorical

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gestures we deduce that JFK really desired to be a Karate expert rather than President—that downward chop of the right hand—but that Harry Truman had delusions of omnipotence: that he thought he could fight two Karate bouts at the same time is suggested by the simultaneous downward chopping of *both* hands.

'Academic' 'Meetings'

Various academic associations held their annual meetings the week after Christmas, and the press reported, with relief, that there were fewer serious disruptions by protesters than last year. Of course, it would have been a little silly for radicals to have disrupted, say, the Modern Language Association meeting in Chicago, since the president of the MLA, a former director of a radical antiwar group called Resist, was urging his flock to start "a total cultural revolution" and seize control of universities to make literature relevant to everyday life.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science, on the other hand, which, with suicidal heroism, presented some speakers to the right of Eugene McCarthy, fared less well. There were several sit-ins and lie-ins, and various speakers who had at one time or another worked for the Defense Department were booed, heckled and accused of "genocide" (Leslie Gelb, one of the writers of the Pentagon Papers, gave up trying to speak after two hours, and was escorted out by plain-clothes policemen).

An incident that explained much of the trouble involved Hubert Humphrey. Granted, the former Vice President can be tedious: but he *was* invited to speak, and no one was standing in the corridor with a cattle prod, forcing members of the AAAS to go and listen to him if they didn't want to. So it seemed more than mildly rude of the group calling itself Science for the People to a) paste signs on the lectern saying "Humphrey wanted for murder! Rape! Genocide!," b) yell "genocide" and "you flunkie creep" throughout his speech, and c) throw tomatoes and paper airplanes at him. Yet the only member of the Association who objected publicly to this behavior was Patrick Moynihan. He canceled his own speech and left the conference, saying: "Clearly the group involved in these now-repeated demonstrations is a small minority of the Association's membership. Their tactics are not for that reason any less a threat to free inquiry." To which Barry Commoner replied that the Association's board would be "surprised and shocked"—at *Moynihan's* action. "Dr. Moynihan has abdicated his responsibility to the scientific community and to the public. The purpose of science is to get at the truth and, to help get at truths, open discussions of diverse viewpoints are necessary. . . . [Dissent is] a healthy sign because it shows that ideas are being expressed openly." And if that is the way a big grown-up scholar reasons, is it any wonder the Kids are confused?

Behrendt, *Het Parool*, Amsterdam — Ben Roth Agency

Berliners visit Berlin . . .

Dichtung und Wahrheit

Murderous Angels, Conor Cruise O'Brien's play about Dag Hammarskjöld and Patrice Lumumba, raises in the sharpest possible way the question of the relationship between truth and art, for O'Brien takes historical personages, people who existed within living memory, and involves them in actions which have little or no basis in fact. *Murderous Angels* is only the most recent example of this imposition. Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* enjoyed a successful run several years ago, though it presented an unhistorical treatment of Pope Pius XII. More recently, we have had a novel about the Rosenbergs and the movie *Sacco and Vanzetti*—both at variance with known facts. And, in a slightly different vein, we have had *MacBird!*, which makes LBJ responsible for the murder of John Kennedy.

All this is quite different from, for example, quasi-historical drama like Shakespeare's *Richard II* or Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, the audiences for which had no way of arriving at accurate historical knowledge and so enjoyed the plays as art. In contrast, the audiences for the contemporary Theater of Fact (sic) simultaneously know the truth and relish the lie.

This is a phenomenon that is revealing in many ways, and it is significant that faked contemporary history has the appeal demonstrated by some of these productions. When the deepest attitudes of an individual collide with empirical reality, faked history steps in to provide some welcome solace. Thus there demonstrably exists a considerable audience that deeply desires to blame Pope Pius directly, and Christianity indirectly, for Auschwitz. It was Hochhuth's talent to sense that desire and provide the myth. And just as certainly there exists an audience that finds it highly disturbing to know that Kennedy was assassinated by a Castroite Communist, and would prefer that a native Texan had been behind it all. *MacBird!* caters to the logic of that emotion. Laughing together, its

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audience experiences a kind of communion by participating in the illusion, the so satisfying illusion.

Again, this is entirely different from the Aristotelian doctrine that fiction, or poetry, can reveal a deeper truth than the examination of historical events, that fiction can reveal the pattern often concealed by contingency. The Theater of Fact, in the hands of a Hochhuth or an O'Brien, far from illuminating deep truths, merely caters to the illusions and dark wishes of its ideologized clientele.

Phase III Coming Up

Paul McCracken, the outgoing Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has predicted "a continuing government role" in policing wages and prices, extending "well beyond" the November Presidential election. This forecast, which the President admits is possible, should come as no surprise. Because controls create the illusion that something is being done about inflation, the government has felt free to pursue vigorous deficit spending and monetary expansion, thereby increasing the inflationary pressure which allegedly requires controls. Mr. Nixon's piecemeal, case-by-case, store-by-store approach to price increases thus distracts attention from the only common element in *all* wages and prices, namely the number of dollars floating around.

Since the inflationary monetary pressure continues, most wage and price increases are fully justifiable in terms of other wage and price increases. The Pay Board and Price Commission are, therefore, quite understandably lenient in their rulings: Of 34 Price Commission rulings published on December 30, only one requested increase was denied, and two others reduced; of the price increases approved, the average increase was nearly 4 per cent, with a high of over 11 per cent.

Wage and price controls have been tried many times and have never achieved any lasting result, except in such situations of monetary restraint as would render controls redundant. The American people are, we suspect, becoming bored with being frozen and two-phased, and Mr. McCracken to the contrary notwithstanding, they will not suffer the phony-baloney gladly for many more months.

Chilean Notes

"He traveled Chile from north to south and I think he was able to break the Chilean's calm and that he left behind him a clear concept of what is a revolution." So writes an ardent Allende supporter of Fidel Castro's visit to Chile. If the revolution is there it is not the Marxist one Dr. Castro envisioned. . . . Of the 300,000 Chileans urged by President Allende to demonstrate their support of his leftist Unidad Popular government, twenty thousand showed. Crowd turnouts for UP were so disappointing in comparison to opposition rallies that Allende supporter, Socialist Senator Carlos Altamirano, has called for the formation of revolutionary vigilance committees throughout the country to "mobilize the masses." . . . The masses are doing just fine. After the violent government retaliation to their food march, Santiago women no longer venture into the streets. Instead, at nine o'clock sharp, every night, they open their windows and bang the empty pots from their kitchens. . . . Opposition has also initiated impeachment proceedings against Allende's Minister of Interior, José Gonzáles Tohá. It was Tohá who, on the night of the housewives' demonstration, closed down two radio stations and solved the problem of the third by simply disconnecting its power cable. . . . On January 15, the Allende government, using the pretext of Chile's dwindling foreign reserves, takes control of all airline ticket sales. Chileans have a difficult enough time traveling as it is. Passports are issued at a snail's pace; the traveler must get a solvent Chilean to agree to stand bond for him at the tax office; the allowance for traveling has been reduced to $60 for Latin America and $120 for Europe and the United States. Airline managers now say that the new restrictions will run travel agencies and foreign airlines out of business in Chile. It's difficult to mobilize the masses if the masses leave town.

Charles Benson, RIP

Charles ("Carl") Benson wrote "Should We Ditch Israel?" (*NR*, Nov. 17, 1970) and "Deterrence through Defense" (*NR*, March 3, 1971). Both were cover stories; *NR* reprinted the latter as a pamphlet and saw it widely circulated in Congress and elsewhere. The Department of Defense asked permission to reprint it.

Carl was a graduate physicist with a degree in optics. He knew computers and ballistics, rocketry and electronics, and he also knew, and delighted in, mythology, philosophy, etymology and music.

Carl was an example of a phenomenon that has increased to the status of its own terminology: executive dropout. He was vice president of an important electronics firm when it came to him that what he wanted was to be a writer. He got himself a brainless job and a little office, and he wrote. He never took charity or relief or unemployment money; he worked every single night for two years without a day off. He wrote part of a book on polistrategy for the Seventies, and the book and many lyrics for a rock opera, and (with George Clayton Johnson) finished a book on revolution. He took music lessons until he had enough know-how to write a dozen Country-Western songs. They're pretty good.

On Christmas Eve, at three in the morning, it was raining and cold in Los Angeles. Carl got out of the truck he was driving and some nameless, faceless individual, for no known reason, shot Carl three times and killed him instantly.

His appearances in these pages, and the wide response he received, were, to him, glorious and heartening events.

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His was one of the very finest minds any of us could have the privilege to encounter. That he should be the victim of a society which he tried to understand, and in his way to protect, is quite past bearing.—THEODORE STURGEON

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: Jim McFadden, Promotion Department, NATIONAL REVIEW
From: WFB
My beloved colleague:

It is embarrassing enough to read drooly accounts of my published works in the promotion pages of the magazine of which I am the editor;

I have for years been made aware of the necessarily hyperbolic nature of promotional prose, and have with exemplary docility permitted my works to be likened to the great masterpieces of the Western world;

I am not in the least opposed to quoting samples of my wit and wisdom in said advertisements;

HOWEVER;

When, as in page 1453 of last week's issue, you give as an example of that wisdom a fifty-word passage of prose which not only did I not write, but I BURLESQUED in my book; words spoken not by ME but by RAMSEY CLARK, all I can say is:

NATIONAL REVIEW has been Infiltrated. —WFB

WFB: Proves my main point: " 'Cruising . . . Speed' [is] an . . . incredible . . . book." —JPM

■ Dear Bill:
Edgar Smith is simply a superman. I was simply stunned for the entire show. I have given more than one lecture on the psychological consequences of deprivation (there is an enormous literature on the subject) and I am here to tell you he defies the lessons it teaches. Except for his inability to handle humorous rejoinder his performance and sense of balance were remarkable. I also think a strong case can be made that it took an enormous act of courage to essentially plead guilty as he did. Anyway, let's hope he continues to maintain his good judgment.

Cordially,
Michael S. Gazzaniga
Associate Professor, New York University

■ Dear Sir or Madam:
I hope you will forgive me for answering by form letter yours relating to the release of Edgar Smith. There is no feasible alternative because I have received a great many letters, many of them raising different points. It would not be practical to attempt to answer them all.

For those of you who applauded my own participation in the case, I thank you for your kindness in remarking on it, and remind you that there is no reason to suppose anyone else would not have done as much, who came to the case as I did.

For those of you who opposed my participation in the case, just a few points:

1. I believe Edgar Smith is innocent of the crime for which he was convicted. That conclusion I reached after over two years of careful consideration of the case, including a step-by-step investigation of the area in which the crime was committed.

2. My own reservations are detailed in an article published in *Esquire* in September of 1965 called "The Approaching End of Edgar Smith." That article was republished in my book *The Jeweler's Eye*, Putnam's, 1968, and appears as the foreword to Edgar Smith's own book *Brief against Death*, published in 1968. I hope you will read Edgar Smith's book and my introduction to it before you accept as axiomatic Mr. Smith's guilt.

3. Nothing came out in the courtroom, on the day of his release, that changed in any way the situation as described in my article and Edgar's book. Not one new piece of evidence—nothing. The whole thing was court theater, concerning which I was intimately aware, so that there was no surprise whatsoever.

4. A special note to Mr. Eugene Brugger, Attorney at Law, 380 Madison Avenue, New York. When you use the words "cause celebre," do not accent the final "e" in "celebre." The French don't, and there is no reason why you should.

My thanks to you all for writing. Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

■ My Dear Child:
Re your decision to ignore completely William (Kunstler) [Nov. 5, p. 1258], I quite understand your motivation. However, before you cut off all lines of communication you might cite, to William, chapter and verse from my best-selling Book, i.e., Ecclesiastes, chapter 10, verse 2.

Truly yours (and vice versa),
God

PS Should you wonder why I get in touch with you through the U.S. Postal Service (I could, of course, have simply sent along this missive via thunderbolt) the truth of the matter is that I really *do*, as someone (I forget who) once said . . . "work in mysterious ways."

But I must go; Gabriel has misplaced his trump and I must help him find it. (This is, in fact, the third time he has lost it. That's three no trump!)

PPS Looking forward con mucho gusto to meeting you in the not-very-near future.

Memo to WFB, from Research: "The verse you asked for reads: 'The heart of a wise man is in his right hand, and the heart of a fool is in his left hand.' What a *divine* idea!—Aggie"

—WFB

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JAMES BURNHAM

The Protracted Conflict

WHO WILL RULE BANGLADESH?

So HERE is a squawling baby-nation laid on the global doorstep. And what is the global household going to do about it? Why, you might ask, should it do anything? If 75 million Bengalis propose to split off from their parent nation and to constitute themselves a nation separate and sovereign, why should this concern anyone except splitter and splittee? It is not so easy to give a rational answer. But then, very little about nationalism is rational.

People who set up shop as a nation are asserting a claim to being politically adult, with the consequent right to handle their own affairs. But by claiming the right to handle their own affairs, they are implicitly affirming also their duty and their ability to handle them. Nevertheless, new nations in our day expect aid and comfort to start flowing in from the older generation, most particularly including the imperialist beasts, from the moment the new flag is raised. They expect it and count on it, because they know very well that they *can't* handle their own affairs, for all their boast and bluster. They are *not*, rationally speaking, ready to become new, independent and sovereign nations. Most of the current litter of nations emerge from premature deliveries.

Gimme, Gimme

This is conspicuously true of Bangladesh, as two obvious facts are sufficient to prove. In the first place, Bangladesh nationalism has no geographic, economic or historical roots, and ethnically the Bengali-speaking people include tens of millions of Hindus within Indian West Bengal as well as the Bengalis within what was until this winter East Pakistan. Until last spring, "national independence" for a "Bengali nation" had not even been put forward as a slogan.

And second, the people of East Pakistan were not capable of conducting their own independence struggle, and they did not do so. It was the Indian army that split East from West Pakistan. The Mukti Bahini were only an auxiliary and nonessential force—even less significant for the outcome than the over-advertised French Resistance in World War II.

Rule of amorphous Bangladesh is up for grabs. For the moment, India is governing Bangladesh, so far as it is being governed. But India is in a political dilemma. She wants to exercise a limited control, a veto power, over Bangladesh policy; that was, after all, why she went to war. But if Indian troops stay in Bangladesh and if New Delhi is too obviously the boss, the euphoric honeymoon will quickly sour. All occupation armies and absentee bosses are disliked and most are hated. In this case the negative potential is formidable. The Indians are Hindus and the Bengalis of Bangladesh are Moslems. For many centuries Hindus and Moslems have hated and periodically killed each other. And as it further happens, most of the Indian soldiers are Punjabis—i.e., ethnically the same as the Pakistani soldiers.

Pakistan has not yet counted itself out. However unrealistic this may seem, it introduces a complicating and possibly inflammatory factor, especially because of the opportunity Pakistan's formal position offers to international intrigue.

Bangladesh's situation looks no less entangled on internal than on external examination. The Awami League, which won the December 1970 election overwhelmingly, is assumed by outsiders to be the "natural" political group to form the government. But its one and only well-known leader, such as he is, is in Pakistani hands. The unimpressive sub-leaders talked the war from Calcutta and New Delhi instead of fighting it in the field. Not all the fighters are content to step aside for the talkers. Many Mukti Bahini are politically linked to the pro-Moscow, Maoist and Castroite groups that have flourished in the 1971 chaos.

Another possible analogy to the French Resistance appears. We read that mass executions of the administrative and intellectual elite were carried out by, it is said, Pakistani soldiers and their collaborating *razakars*, with the aim of destroying the potential leadership of an independent Bangladesh.

A human body exposed in a Bangladesh town is stripped of flesh by maggots and carrion birds within three days. Experienced European reporters have observed that a good many of the elite bodies have been found still intact and identifiable considerably more than three days after the Pakistani surrender. And no trials are held for the persons executed more or less openly by Mukti Bahini as *razakars*. It is not implausible that some at least of this slaughter of "collaborators" is being engineered by the revolutionary cadres, as in 1944-1945 France (or in Poland in 1941), in order to eliminate future opponents.

A Spicy Brew

Add this to the mixture. The Indians at first intended to install a solid Awami League government. Under pressure from the Russians and from India's pro-Moscow Communist Party, with which Mrs. Gandhi cooperates domestically, several representatives of the pro-Moscow East Bengal Communist Party have been added. The political spectrum is being further enlarged under the familiar united front formula, "representation of all genuine popular forces." In other words, the pro-Moscow cadres are aiming to set up a Czech-type coalition government as a transition to Communist control. The generally pro-Maoist National Awami Party (no relation) shares the revolutionary aim with a Peking variation.

As if all this weren't enough, there are Bengalis who dream a mighty destiny for their half-existing country. They see it fated to include, as the Bengali nation, all the tens of millions of Bengali now subject to New Delhi, to extend its eastern border to the "natural" limit of Burma, and its northern to Chinese-ruled Tibet, shifting overlordship of Sikkim and Bhutan from New Delhi to Dacca.

Very probably Mrs. Gandhi had no choice, but it is most certainly Pandora's box that she opened. □

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NOTES FROM ABROAD

Mau-Mauing the U.S.A.

MAX GELTMAN

"Oh, my poor dear American fellow citizens! how humbly on my knees do I beg pardon," Fanny Kemble wrote on returning to her native land in 1846, apologizing for the dim view she had held of her countrymen a dozen years earlier, which she had recorded in her famous travel journals of 1834. (It will be noted that my favorite reading while traveling is travel literature.)

The business of Americans hating America is not new. Historians date the syndrome back to the first inauguration of Andrew Jackson. Before that a kind of insular pride prevailed in America's unique experiment in freedom and in the excellence of the nation's leaders, almost all of them aristocrats from Massachusetts and Virginia. But with the arrival in Washington of a "man of the people" there came a need to enforce a conception of America as an ideal to be emulated, a model for the world. Adams, Jefferson—even Franklin—would have been appalled at this, they having made it manifest that the American "experience" was not a commodity for profitable export. But with the "new" notion of America as an ideal to be envied and imitated, there grew up a body of "intellectual" criticism (whenever the "ideal" seemed to falter) that is with us still. Only now the criticism has grown sharper and darker.

Writing in the *New York Times Magazine*, Arnold Beichman observed that "more lies about America today are told by her own special critics than were ever dreamed of in Moscow, Peking or Havana."

In Europe, whatever the rule of treason the intellectual may succumb to (in Julian Benda's terms), he is not inclined to defame his country; nor, for that matter, is he apt to shout his nation's virtues at the top of his lungs. The very idea of a French intellectual, say, even one so far situated in left field as Jean-Paul Sartre, saying, "I owe no allegiance to France," or that "France is the most violent nation on earth," is unthinkable. Yet it is almost the most common ground of identity among a host of American *hommes de lettres*—and has been for a long, long, long time.

Yet, if America's intellectuals have become disenthralled with the nation—with its "vulgarity" and "ugliness" first noted by Mrs. Kemble—it is not that they have not enjoyed the fruits garnered from the fleshpots of the common "vulgarity." Rather, they have criticized freely, and usually to their profit. Some of them—with the grace that comes with maturity—have even apologized for their earlier disenchantment. But it seems they have never been unaware that the nation was willing to pay—and to pay well—for defamation. This is what makes American intellectual disaffection unique—and suspect.

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO George Bernard Shaw remarked the phenomenon in these words:

> I myself have been particularly careful never to say a civil word to the United States. I have scoffed at their inhabitants as a nation of villagers . . . and they just adore me and will go on adoring me until in a moment of senile sentimentality I say something nice about them when they will at once begin to suspect me of being a cheapskate after all, and drop me like a hot potato. To rouse their eager interest, their distinguished consideration and their undying devotion, all that is needed is to hold them up to the ridicule of the world. Dickens won them to him forever by merciless projections of typical Americans as windbags, swindlers and assassins.

Now this may be a Shavian jest, something with which to tweak the whiskers of old Uncle Sam whom he loved to a fault. But just before Shaw's splenetic comments appeared, the American publicist, Henry Sydnor Harrison, angered by what he regarded as an excess of intellectual self-abasement, remarked that "the appetite of Americans for hearing themselves abused may well rank as the eighth wonder of the world."

Mr. Harrison may have been exaggerating, but it does give one pause when our youthful rebels demonstrate their contempt for America by spelling it with a hard Teutonic "k," at the same time their outrage is amplified by the remarks of men and women with wider scope and broader maturity. Recently the press quoted a leftist-oriented Jesuit intellectual saying that America "must be overthrown because it persecutes the poor." And Susan Sontag, revolted by what she regards as the flagrant racism of her native land, excoriates the whole (white) human race as "the cancer of civilization."

On balance, perhaps, it is not as deplorable as it sounds. Torturing the American psyche may provide a net plus: It tells us that there are people who expect the United States to be more than just another nation among nations; that it is indeed an ideal to be lived up to—to be loved, cherished and defended.

Talking about this with a French journalist in a Left Bank café, he remarks: "But that is good, isn't it? After all, what is permitted to you [he holds up a copy of *Figaro* full of Pentagon revelations] is absolutely denied to us. Your nation—America—can absorb criticism, even educate its critics; Europe cannot."

I wonder if he is right? □

Max Geltman is the author of The Confrontation *and* God Help Israel. *He is also the associate editor of the Jewish intellectual quarterly,* Ideas.

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COVER STORY

What is civil disobedience? How do you define it? Is it justified? Sometimes, always, never? An essential analysis at a time when all too many problems look for their solution in street actions

Civil Disobedience

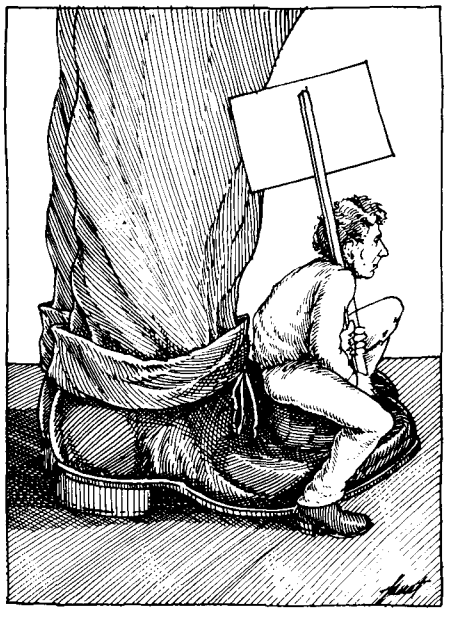
ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

It is apparent to informed observers of the cultural scene that we are moving into a period of increasing politicalization and intellectual zealotry. This threatens not only to demoralize the university as a center of disinterested inquiry, but to determine general standards of objectivity in scholarship and research. Signs are multiplying that partisan criteria utterly irrelevant to genuine intellectual achievement are being brought to bear on the evaluation of scholarly findings. Judgments on scholars and on their work all too often now reflects ideological prejudice rather than scrupulous evaluation of contributions.

A recent incident has raised the question whether the Encyclopaedia Britannica *which in the past has been regarded as an authoritative and objective source of information in all areas of knowledge has embarked upon an ideological course.*

About a year ago Professor Ernest van den Haag, of the New School and New York University, was commissioned by the editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica *to write the article on "Civil Disobedience," a theme that has emerged in recent times as of great theoretical and practical importance. The article was accepted, the honorarium was paid, and Professor van den Haag was even promised an entire set of the* Encyclopaedia *as additional compensation.*

But the attitude of the Encyclopaedia *underwent a curious change as a consequence of subsequent changes in the editorial staff. Word was sent to Professor van den Haag that because of a shift in policy his article would not be published. When pressed to indicate the reasons for the change, the general editor unwittingly revealed the ideological bias behind the decision. He wrote that no article on civil disobedience would be published after all because: "We do not now think we will be able to obtain at this time an encyclopaedically acceptable, dialectically neutral article on the subject."*



But Professor van den Haag's article had been accepted precisely because in the judgment of the original editor it had these virtues, among others. Why the sudden shift?

As one who has specialized for years in the study of the theme of Professor van den Haag's article, I believe it is a model of analysis, detachment and "encyclopaedic" merit. It expounds fairly and thoroughly all sides of the subject with incisiveness and dialectical balance. It would be a disservice to the intellectual community if Professor van den Haag's article were not made generally available, for it also is a most illuminating contribution. Its publication honors any sponsor.

There remains the disquieting phenomenon of the rejection of this article by the Encyclopaedia Britannica *after it had been accepted. Is this part of a pattern of politicalization? Has this reputable and time-honored reference work now fallen into the hands of editors who have ideological axes to grind, who are betraying its great heritage and the public trust in furthering their own ideological bias? Their action in this instance certainly arouses suspicion.*

I am happy to write this preface to Professor van den Haag's contribution. Regardless of whether I have agreed with him, I have always found his analyses informative, provocative and a stimulus to fruitful reflection—and never less than brilliant.

SIDNEY HOOK
Professor of Philosophy
New York University

PUBLIC DISOBEDIENCE to government authority has come to be known as "civil disobedience," when laws are defied for the sake of moral principle.

The laws or practices challenged need not be those disobeyed: the draft laws may be opposed by disobeying trespassing laws. However, the disobedience must be visibly related to the matters protested and consistent with the moral principles to be vindicated. Ideally civil disobedience involves injury to no one; and certainly harm to innocent bystanders, and even to those held responsible for whatever is op-

Professor van den Haag teaches at the New School and New York University. An expanded version of this essay in book form will be brought out by Harper & Row in the spring.

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posed, must remain minor: civil disobedience differs from insurrection and from revolution by self-imposed restrictions such as these.

Strictly speaking, one can not publicly disobey a law and also publicly contend that one is "not guilty" of doing so. However, their acts are usually regarded as civil disobedience, if defendants plead "not guilty" to proclaim their *moral* guiltlessness, and to denounce the law they have actually disobeyed. Even if a generally enforced law, publicly disobeyed on moral grounds, is later held never to have been legally valid, the defiance may be regarded as civil disobedience, since the challengers, though they may escape punishment, took the risk of suffering it.*

Proponents of civil disobedience traditionally do not use force themselves —at least not against persons—although they may invite it. To exhibit the suasive character of their acts they do not resist enforcement of the laws they disobey by either fighting or fleeing; they are willing to stand trial, and to suffer punishment. Thus they underline the public and symbolic, as well as the civic (civil) character of their conduct: they disobey civilly, as citizens (*cives*) who, except for the specific matters protested, feel bound to obey the laws. Further, since they are usually weaker than the supporters of the opposed law, violence would not be effective.

Civil disobedience by definition is always regarded as unlawful at some point. Else it could not qualify as "disobedience." But the essential problem transcends all narrowly legal contentions: when, if ever, is there a *moral* right, or duty, to disobey a valid law or a lawful authority? This philosophical problem is involved also in conscientious objection, a less extensive challenge to lawful authority, and in revolution, a more extensive one. Although the line is often blurred, civil disobedience can be distinguished from both.

Conscientious Objection

Conscientious objectors demand exemption from a legal obligation repugnant to their conscience. They disobey the law only if the privilege they seek is not granted. They need not resist the legal obligation of those whose consciences permit them to comply, or demand that laws be changed for everybody. In contrast, civil disobedience always demands not a special dispensation from, but a general change of laws or policies (e.g., not exemption from, but abolition of, the draft). And civil disobedience must be (putatively) unlawful, since disobedience to laws is used as a means of changing them (even though post facto the disobedience may be declared legal and the "law" invalid).

Conscientious objectors to military service are granted exemption in the United States, if the conscientiousness of the objection is recognized—if the objector can show that his objection rests on general moral principles strongly and deeply held. For example, it is one thing to renounce war as a means to anything, another to spurn only a particular war—just as it is one thing to repudiate the death penalty in principle, and another to oppose inflicting it on a particular defendant. Motivation may well be moral in both instances. But the conscience which only objects to some wars, or death sentences, depends on judgments of specific facts; whereas the conscience opposed, on principle, to all wars, regardless of circumstances, or to the death penalty, does not. The objector's judgment of specific facts (is *this* defendant actually guilty? is *this* war necessary, useful, or just?) could not be allowed to prevail over that of courts and governments, without reducing their judgments to an opinion no more authoritative and enforceable than his. (How useful a person who strongly opposes a particular war is in fighting it, is a different question; but certainly a prudential question and neither a legal nor a moral one.)

Revolution

Whereas the ends of conscientious objection do not go as far as those of civil disobedience, the ends of revolution go beyond; so do the means. Civil disobedience is intended in the main to persuade by symbolic acts and certainly to defy laws only so as to press for limited, specific changes within the legal and political system. Revolution, however, is intended to change the whole political system; and at minimum, to coerce unpersuaded opponents by what-

*To challenge the validity of a putative law by disobeying it, and to have it declared invalid, is actually to show that one did not disobey a valid law, but successfully challenged an authority which thought otherwise. Hence, literally, to regard the successful challenge as civil disobedience is to confuse lawful resistance to unlawful commands of authority with unlawful resistance to lawful commands. And, contrary to what is widely believed, successful defense does not vindicate civil disobedience, any more than successful defense of a person charged with murder vindicates murder. The defense is successful only by showing that the accused did not disobey (or was not shown to have disobeyed) a (valid) law. Its success, therefore, cannot vindicate his having done so. But these legal or logical distinctions have little bearing on the essentially moral problem.

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ever force is needed, so as to overthrow the government and to gain power for the revolutionaries.

Unsuccessful civil disobedience differs only in intent (and legal status) from conscientious objection, while successful civil disobedience, if it becomes extensive and ambitious enough, may develop into revolution, with or without, violence.

Individual v. *Society*

The tension between the requirements of social order and those of justice to individuals has been reflected in the tension between the law and the individual conscience since ancient times. Sophocles embodied it in his tragedy, *Antigone*, and Socrates articulated it in the *Apologia* and in *Crito*. They both felt, in the words of Aristotle, that "an unjust law is not a law," that the (positive) laws of the ruler must be "in accordance with nature" (Cicero), else they become "acts of violence rather than laws" (Thomas Aquinas). Accordingly, the early Christians disobeyed Roman laws inconsistent with their beliefs; and St. Thomas More was executed proclaiming himself "the king's good servant, but God's first."

Most of the scholastics stressed the duty to obey rulers more than the duty to disobey, and none left it explicitly to the individual to decide. In the seventeenth century Thomas Hobbes went further and identified justice with the sovereign's right to legislate. Since "the laws are the rules of just and unjust," he declared, "no law can be unjust." But a little later, John Locke and David Hume once more discerned that sovereigns who abuse their power should be resisted, although neither could interpret "abuse" unequivocally. Henry David Thoreau, a nineteenth-century American, took a more extreme antinomian view and christened, although he did not father, civil disobedience. Thoreau denied that "the citizen must . . . in the least degree resign his conscience to the legislator." He thus rejected the morally obligatory character of law, unlike Thomas Jefferson who, in his First Inaugural Address, demanded: ". . . absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority . . . from which there is no appeal but to force, the . . . immediate parent of despotism."

Thoreau's view is in sharp conflict with that of Abraham Lincoln as well. In his 1838 lecture "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions" Lincoln fervidly exhorted his audience:

> Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. . . . Let reverence for the laws . . . be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges . . . let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become *the political religion* of the nation. . . . . . although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still while they continue in force, for the sake of example, they should be religiously observed. . . . There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

Herman Melville went even further in affirming the priority of law and order over individual justice, when, writing toward the end of his life, he had the guiltless sailor Billy Budd (in the homonymous novel) accept the death sentence imposed through the advocacy of Captain Vere. The captain knew him innocent, but thought, plausibly enough, that Billy had to hang, to discourage incipient mutiny—to preserve law and order so that the ship of state could sail on, able to defend itself against all enemies.

In more recent times individual justice has been stressed more, and *raison d'état* less. Thoreau's ideas were adopted by Gandhi in India and by Martin Luther King in the U.S. (and, conceivably, by their assassins). At present a motley group, ranging from Jesuit priests to hip students and their chicks, asserts a right to resist laws thought unjust. What, then, are the arguments for civil obedience, or disobedience, for social authority and for individual conscience?

Order

To recognize the legitimacy of a government is to recognize its authority to make laws; for, to govern is to make laws. Whatever else they may be, laws are rules that must be obeyed. One cannot, then, recognize the government's authority to make laws and claim the right to disobey them, for the claim would deny the authority one has consented to: to grant the authority to make rules *is* to accept the obligation to obey them. Nor can one claim the right to disobey *some* laws. Each law is a law only inasmuch as it excludes the right to disobey. Else, it would be a suggestion, not a law. Hence, obedience to all laws is the duty of all persons who recognize the authority of the government that makes them.

Further, one who claims for himself the right to disobey laws when they are inconsistent with superior obligations to his conscience, must concede this right to others as well (unless he asserts that

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only his conscience is superior to law). Thus, to grant the right to disobey laws to anybody, is to grant this right to everybody, if his conscience tells him to disobey. Obedience would become voluntary and the law would be shorn of its binding, i.e., its legal, character to be reduced, once more, to a suggestion. However, suggestions are not enough. Laws must obligate and finally compel, because not everybody voluntarily acts as they enjoin; else laws would be pointless. They are necessary, because conscience guides individuals and groups into conflicts—settled by making and enforcing laws. Laws, then, are meant to obligate dissenters no less than assenters: else, they would be redundant. Legislative authority is needed to enforce in action the unanimity so often lacking in opinion and desire.

Without laws to proscribe some acts (e.g., murder or theft or driving on the wrong side of the street) and to prescribe others (e.g., the payment of taxes needed to enforce laws) there could be no social order and no viable society. Activities would be disorganized. Naked and arbitrary power would prevail in all conflicts and "the life of man" would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes). Yet, as soon as the distribution of power is stabilized, it generates a social order, a set of enforced rules accepted as moral obligations—law. Barely conceivable, a lawless society cannot exist.

Moral v. *Legal*

The question, when, if ever, and to what extent, is it a *moral* duty to obey the law, is prior to and independent of the legal question (do I have a *legal* duty to obey?), and of prudential questions (can I get away with it? how effective is disobedience as a means to my ends?). The morality of specific laws too becomes relevant only after the general moral obligation to obey all, no, or only some, laws has been decided. On what grounds, then, can the general moral obligation to obey laws be rejected or qualified?

Obedience to law is rejected altogether by 1) anarchists (who believe that no government has legitimate authority which need be obeyed); it is qualified by 2) legitimists (who believe that only some governments are legitimate and need be obeyed); finally its extent is limited by 3) those who believe that all governments need be obeyed only as long as they do not violate prior and superior moral principles (such as may be established by religion, nature—including the nature of society and of persons—reason and individual conscience). Although justifications for civil disobedience often are combined, it will be convenient to examine them separately.

Anarchist View

Anarchists reject the moral duty to obey laws because they regard laws as unnecessary, and likely to intensify the very ills—coercion, inefficiency, conflict, oppression, injustice and suffering —they are to reduce. Anarchists feel that people are, or could be, so good-natured that no laws are needed to restrain them, to settle conflicts, or even to organize activities such as traffic or commerce. Decentralization could reduce the need for rules, and, with sufficient institutional changes, the rules still needed would be spontaneously established and voluntarily followed. Each person would follow the rules he approves, because he approves them, and not because he has an obligation to anything external to himself. There would be no authority, no compulsion and no sanctions.

The anarchist view rests, at least in part, on factual assumptions about possible, or probable, human behavior. However, it usually is so formulated that it can not be proved, or disproved, by any evidence available, or even conceivable. Nonetheless, so far, observation of infants and of primitive societies does not support the anarchist view of the possibilities of human conduct in differently conditioned societies. Nor is the anarchist view supported by experience with communities based on it, or with societies attempting to enact it. Anarchists attribute this to unfavorable conditions, or to wrong methods, or, sometimes, to the prior conditioning of the observer and the observed.

Ancient writers (e.g., Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, drawing, in turn, on much earlier sources) imagined a golden age of spontaneous harmony such as is also depicted in the biblical Paradise. (The Bible indicates but one law—which was violated.) Anarchists, relying on faith ("the evidence of things not seen"), as do Christians (although anarchists usually do not acknowledge such reliance), expect to regain paradise by human action, and (unlike Christians) within history. So do Marxists. (The eschatological expectations of either do not seem nearer fulfillment than those of other religions.)

But Marxists (with exceptions) believe in a highly coercive and centralized "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the interim, to be established by revolution. Even democratic Marxists believe in compulsory laws. Most anarchists however believe that the coercive state is best abolished by peaceful and non-coercive resistance to its laws, whenever these require "unjust" actions. (Some anarchists, mainly Bakunin and his followers, believe in individual violence; and some in collective violence.) Hence civil disobedience is approved by anarchists who often attribute the disappointing outcome of revolutions to the coercive methods of revolutionaries. (But one need not be an anarchist to approve of civil disobedience: Socrates was not; nor was Sir Thomas More.)

Some anarchists, notably Marx Stirner (1806-1856) and, today, perhaps most coherently R. P. Wolff, so define each man's obligation to make his own moral choices (autonomy) that it becomes inconsistent with any moral duty to obey the law, i.e., other men (heteronomy). Preferring autonomy, they reject the duty to obey the law. (Their preference may, but need not, involve the theory of spontaneous human harmony mentioned above.)

Political philosophers, such as John Locke and J. J. Rousseau, have tried to show that, at least in a democracy, the moral obligation to obey the law is consistent with the duty—which they acknowledge—to make one's own moral decisions. According to Wolff they succeeded with unanimous, but not with majority decisions—the only ones likely to occur: the members of the minority, who oppose the majority decision, can accept the (social) responsibility to do what they feel is contrary to their (individual) moral duty only to the extent to which they renounce their moral autonomy. The authority of laws one opposes, one's duty to obey them, can be granted only if one has given up his obligation to keep his entire moral autonomy, if one has vested the legislature with a moral authority he has no right to delegate to it, or to anyone.

To refute this anarchist argument, one or more of the elements which make it seem compelling must be

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changed: a) empirical assumptions, b) definition, or c) moral preference. a) By accepting the authority of the law, and thereby giving up, in the short run, some of his actual autonomy, the individual may, in the long run, increase his (potential) autonomy and the autonomy of all other individuals, which, in the absence of law, would be decreased by arbitrary power. If one's obligation is to maximize the effective autonomy of each and all, over the long run, it might best be fulfilled by accepting the authority of the law. (The anarchist view of human nature may deny this as an empirical matter only.) b) Anarchists argue that, however justified, a duty to obey commands contrary to one's own felt moral duty implies giving up one's moral autonomy by recognizing a (heteronomous) authority superior to it. With respect to any particular law they are surely correct. But, if (as here suggested) obedience to law, acceptance of social authority, serves the long-run maximization of the autonomy of all (freedom) then the short-run reduction of each individual's autonomy (legal restriction) may lead to a net gain both in the autonomy of all and in his own. Now, whether this "trade off" is considered an increase, or a renunciation of individual autonomy hinges on whether one defines "individual autonomy" as long-run maximization of the moral freedom of all individuals, or as each individual's duty to decide autonomously in each instance. If the first definition is accepted, we have an increase, and if the second is, a loss of "individual autonomy" through acceptance of the duty to obey the law. Finally, c) one may simply prefer social order—and what is produced by it —to individual autonomy wherever they clash, by regarding the former as a prior moral value, even where it does not enhance the individual autonomy of each person.

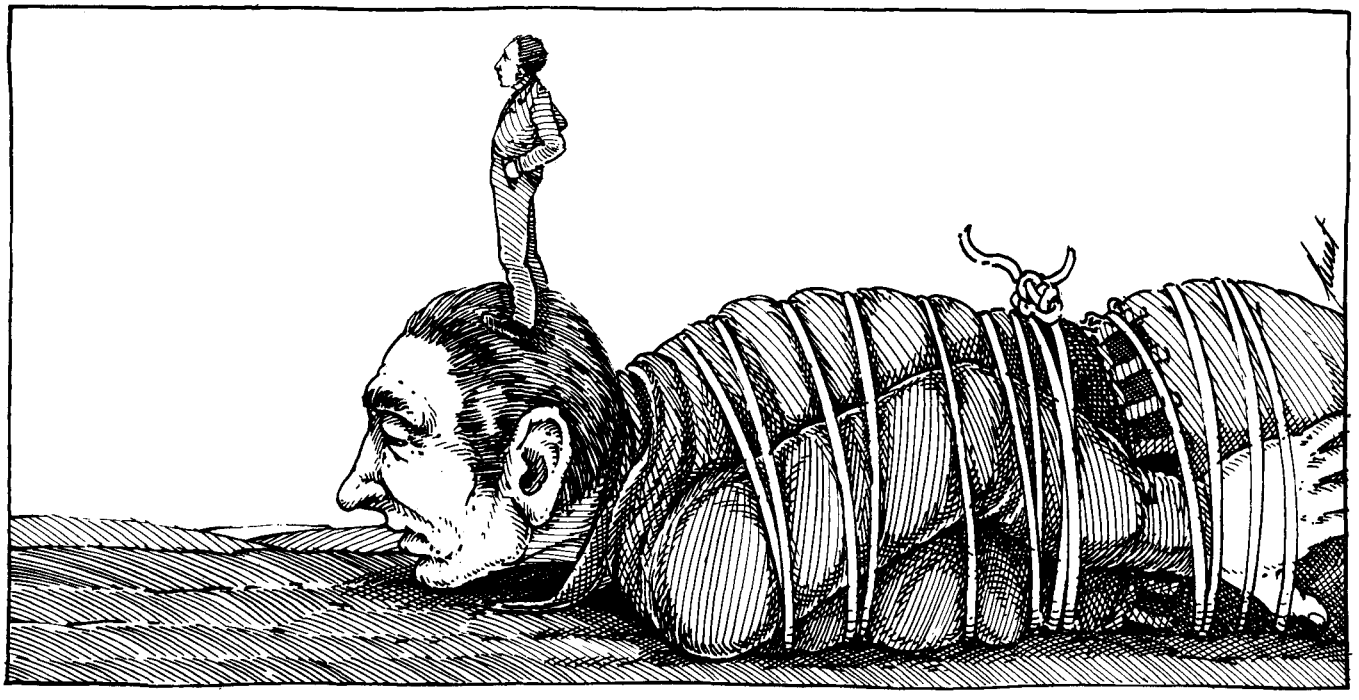
The Legitimists

Whereas anarchists regard no government as legitimate, legitimists feel morally bound to obey the laws of legitimate governments, but not of governments they do not regard as legitimate. Although they may follow laws they approve of, or obey as a matter of prudence, legitimists do not feel morally obligated to obey, unless they recognize as legitimate the government which makes, or validates, the laws. All governments claim to be legitimate, but in modern times the claim of democracies is most widely accepted; discussion may be restricted to this claim then.

Democrats may not recognize the legitimacy of a nondemocratic government and not feel bound by its laws. Nondemocrats may not feel bound by the laws of a democracy, if they do not regard democratic government as legitimate. Since both governments claim legitimacy, neither can recognize the claim of those who deny it. Revolution can be morally right. But no government can recognize a moral—let alone a legal—right to revolution. To do so would deny its own claim to legitimacy.

By definition, in a democracy the citizens decide who shall make laws and thereby consent to be governed by the laws made. Since they elect it and retain the right to oust it, any democratic government has law-making authority by consent of at least the majority of citizens. The minority can freely influence the majority, and the legislative process, by persuasion and by voting; it consents to being governed by the prevailing majority, since it retains those (civil) liberties which are required to grow into a majority by persuasion. For these reasons disobedience to law, in a democracy, to the extent to which it is successful without persuading the majority (*coercive* civil disobedience) replaces the will of the majority with that of the minority. Majority government, legitimate from the democratic viewpoint, is replaced, at least in part, by illegitimate (nondemocratic) minority government which imposes its view on the majority it can not persuade. Despite the moral and libertarian impulse so often behind civil disobedience, the minority government would have to curtail the people's liberties to keep itself in power and to continue the policies imposed on an unpersuaded majority.

From a strictly democratic viewpoint then, disobedience to law, ranging from



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN
16TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
DWIGHT EISENHOWER
34TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
JOHN KENNEDY
35TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

An important announcement concerning a significant new method for the average investor to acquire works of art in precious proof-finish sterling silver — through the systematic acquisition of a series of commemorative silver ingots honoring the 36 men who have been Presidents of the United States

PRESIDENTIAL SILVER INGOTS

The 36 men who have served as President of our great land are symbolic of America's majesty and her dedication to freedom for all men. Now, as the keen excitement and solemn purpose of another Presidential election draws near, The Danbury Mint is embarking on an ambitious program to pay tribute to the Presidency in the timeless medium of sculpture in precious metal — through the issuance of a series of 36 large-size solid *Sterling Silver Ingots*, each carrying a finely sculpted Presidental portrait.

YOUR PERSONAL TREASURY OF WORKS OF ART IN STERLING SILVER

Government regulations discourage U.S. citizens from stockpiling *gold*. However, there is nothing to prevent owning as much *silver* as you can afford. Now for the first time, The Danbury Mint is offering a massive collection of silver in art ingot form. Presidential Silver Ingots will be minted in the collector's choice of either of two sizes — containing 2,500 grains or 5,000 grains of gleaming sterling silver.

A collection in either size will contain more silver than the average individual ever possesses in a lifetime! The concept of combining the historic ingot method of acquiring silver with a commemorative series to honor Presidents of the United States will result in a collection which indeed will become a treasured heirloom in those families fortunate enough to own it.

AN INVESTMENT OF CONSEQUENCE IN FINE ART AND PRECIOUS METAL

More and more astute individuals are collecting works of art in sterling silver for investment purposes. This type of collecting is traditional among well-established families who build personal treasuries of precious metals and fine art. We can think of no better way to start — or add to — your own private treasury than to subscribe to this series combining the true beauty of fine art with a most significant silver content.

A TRULY UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY

It is interesting to consider that the new Eisenhower proof silver dollar contains 152 grains of silver and has been sold by the U. S. Treasury at $10.00 each. The smaller of the two Presidential Silver Ingot sizes contains 2,500 grains of sterling silver and will be issued at only $22.00 each (plus a small charge for postage and handling).

Think what this means! You would have to spend over $150.00 purchasing Eisenhower proof coins from the U. S. Government to obtain as much silver as is contained in a single Presidential Silver Ingot to be issued at $22.00.

Naturally, we are not suggesting people are buying Eisenhower dollars solely for their silver content (just as we would not suggest anyone buy Presidential Ingots solely for their silver content). At the same time, the striking advantage for Presidential Ingots seems worthy of your consideration.

EACH INGOT WILL BE HALLMARKED AND EACH SET WILL BE REGISTERED

Each ingot will be hallmarked with the world-acclaimed mark of The Danbury Mint, the year of mintage, and certification of the number of grains of sterling silver. Permanent records also will be maintained of all subscriptions allotted and each subscriber will receive an official Danbury Mint Certificate of Registration establishing his set as part of the First Edition.

These ingots will be struck with a full proof finish. This is the finish that is reserved for only the most significant medallic issues — and is rarely available in ingot form. The beautifully sculpted busts will have a frosted surface to stand out from the gleaming mirror-like background. The beauty of the sculpturing and the meticulous crafting of the minter's art, combined with the massive heft of the ingot itself, will make this a most worthwhile collection.

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THE COST IS REMARKABLY LOW AND THE PURCHASE PRICE IS GUARANTEED FOR THE DURATION OF THE SERIES

Presidential Silver Ingots will be issued at the rate of one per month. The initial issue price will be $22.00 per 2,500 grain ingot and $40.00 per 5,000 grain ingot (plus a small charge for postage and handling). These prices will be maintained no matter how high the price of silver may rise while your collection is being minted — a guarantee made possible only by commitments on our part in world silver markets upon receipt of your order.

Thus, **you are able to acquire the entire collection at a guaranteed price, and yet make only small monthly payments** as each individual Presidential Ingot is received. Obviously, the financial commitment to us in stockpiling silver is such that only a limited number of subscribers can be accepted on this basis.

Please be assured that you may reserve your own personal collection of Presidential Silver Ingots without risk or obligation. When the first ingot arrives, if it is not entirely satisfactory in every way, return it for a full refund. After that, you may discontinue your subscription at any time with no obligation to purchase further ingots.

A COLLECTION TO DISPLAY WITH PRIDE

Because this collection uniquely honors our American heritage — and because of the singular beauty and educational value each individual ingot possesses — the collection will occupy a special place of honor in the home or office of those fortunate to acquire it. It will be displayed with a sense of pride in America — and with that "special feeling" a true collector's item gives the discerning owner.

Accompanying each Danbury Mint Presidential Ingot collection will be a massive, handmade solid walnut display chest — an ideal companion to this impressive ingot collection. The display chest — specially designed to show the ingots in their full beauty and glory — is an outstanding example of the cabinetmaker's art, and alone is an item anyone would be proud to own. On each chest the owner's name will be permanently engraved in an imbedded brass name plate — thus providing the final perfect touch to what surely will be a most prized possession!

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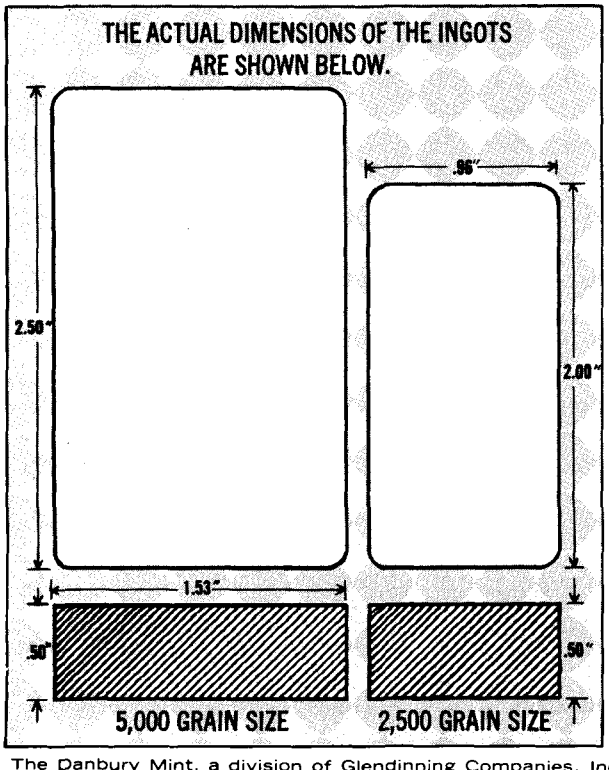

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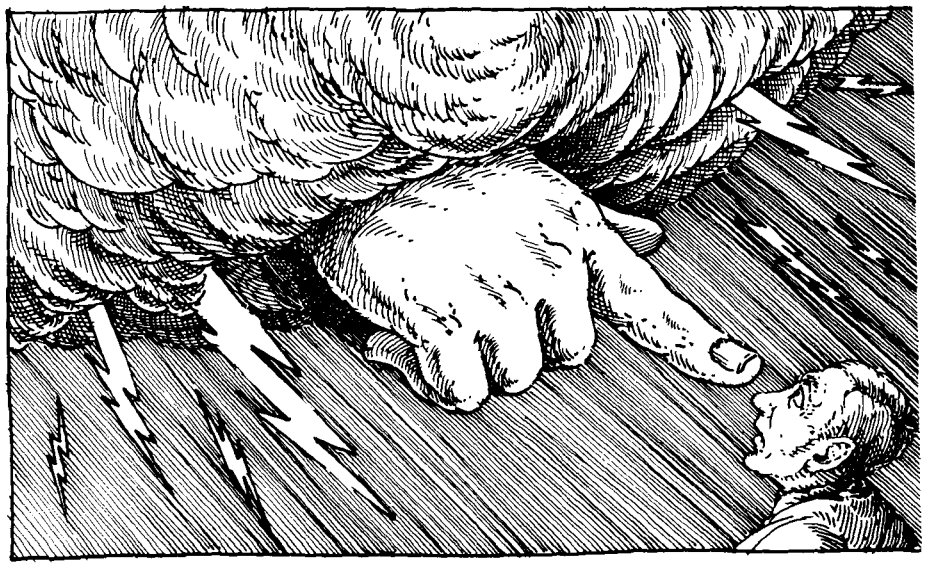
civil disobedience to revolution, is justified only if the citizens have no legitimate ways to freely elect or oust the government by majority vote, i.e., to participate in the law-making process—if democracy does not extend to them. Those who seem hopelessly and permanently bereft of the right to persuade and vote are under no moral obligation to obey laws imposed on them. This is the situation of all citizens in a nondemocratic system; but some citizens may be in this situation in a democratic one. (In the past economic, sexual, racial and other qualifications for the democratic franchise often were quite restrictive. At present they are not; some controversy over these formal qualifications remains, but is so marginal that it may be neglected; de facto qualifications, although lower than in the past, are still restrictive in some places.)

Those disenfranchised in a democratic system may (often with the help of some of the enfranchised) try to persuade the government to enfranchise them. They may do so by engaging in *persuasive* civil disobedience as a last resort. Since, usually, a minority is disenfranchised by a majority (or, at any rate, by a more powerful group) persuasion is more likely to be effective than violence or even nonviolent coercion. The recent past in the U.S. indicates that persuasive civil disobedience can be effective; under the circumstances noted it seems legitimate.

Persuasion is, by definition, possible in a democracy, and since democracy aspires to the consent of all citizens, persuasion has usually succeeded in enlarging the franchise. However, in a nondemocratic system attempts at persuasion are likely to be repressed. And since its legitimacy does not rest on continuous consent of the citizens, a nondemocratic government is not likely to be persuaded for the sake of achieving it. Revolution may be the only effective resort for those who oppose the law, or their own disenfranchisement.

Marxists (except for democratic Marxists) and other revolutionary groups harder to classify may reject the moral obligation to obey the law in a democracy by insisting that constitutional and representative democracy is not "truly" democratic, and can become so only if some groups (reactionaries, capitalists) are altogether disenfranchised, and the economy is socialized. To them only a Marxist democracy—which bears a suspicious resemblance to a dictatorship of Marxists—is legitimate. They feel morally obligated only by the laws of their own revolutionary government, which is said to derive its authority from the consent of "history," though not necessarily of historians, or of the governed. Since these groups are not interested in changing particular laws as much as in assuming power, they are more likely to prepare for revolution than for civil disobedience.



Limitations

Much as they accept the duty to obey the laws of a legitimate government, few legitimists will regard this duty as unbounded. To do so would mean to surrender all individual moral judgment, all autonomy, to social authority. However legitimate they may think it, however much they may consent to it in principle, and regard it as necessary, and preferable to any alternative, few will be willing, or able, to surrender their own moral judgment altogether without reservation, to even the best government.

Suppose we regard a democratic government as legitimate; a prima facie obligation to obey its laws follows. But suppose, now, an outrageous law is enacted, e.g., a law commanding that all members of a group—redheads, Albigensians or Jews—be wantonly killed. (Note "wantonly"; matters might differ, if a plausible case for the necessity of killing them could be made.) Democratic freedoms and safeguards, though unimpaired, prove unavailing: the majority can not be persuaded to change the law: the government supporting the law is re-elected in a free election and the courts declare the outrageous law constitutional. It is hard to believe that one is morally bound to obey it—that the legitimacy of (democratic) procedure, of majority decision, or of any authority, generates a moral obligation to obey so immoral a law, or absolves anyone from the moral duty to resist it by illegal, and, perhaps, violent means when legal means are unavailing.

To say as much is to say that the individual conscience can be morally right and legitimate authority wrong; and that in some cases the individual should act illegally to make his conscience prevail over legitimate authority. If authority always, or never, were wrong, we would have the duty to disobey it always, or never. And so with conscience. But if authority is only sometimes wrong, and our conscience only sometimes right, we need a rule to determine when either is—when to obey our conscience and when to obey the law, for we have obligations to both, and they may be in conflict.

How? Why? When?

St. Paul declared governments to be "ordained by God" so that "whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God" (Romans 13:1-10); but the apostle Peter thought that "we ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). The potential conflict between the duty to obey authority and the duty to obey "God" has never been, and can not be, fully resolved—until these obligations become identical.

Conflict can be eluded, or defined

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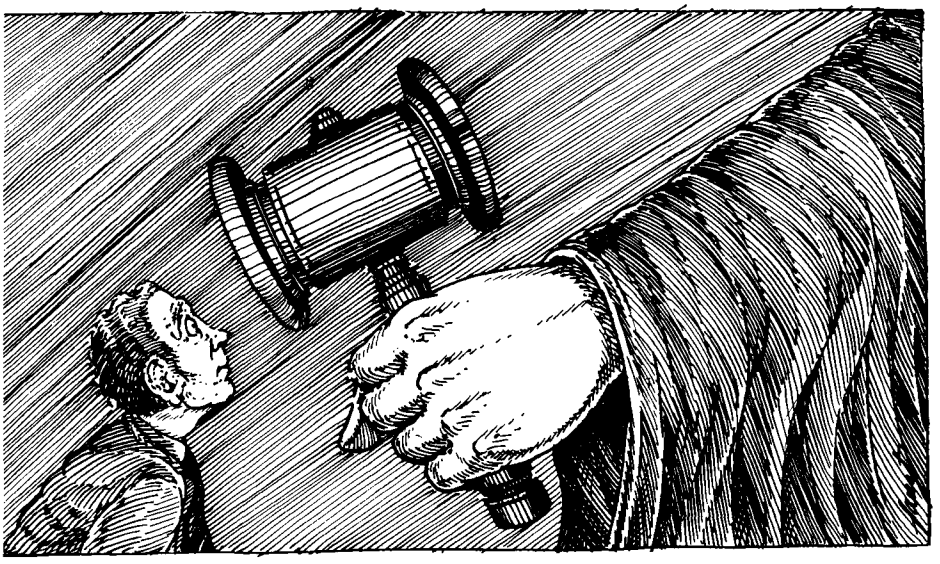

away, only by discarding one of the two conflicting moral obligations: the moral duty to follow one's conscience, even if disobeying authority, at least in some cases; or, the moral duty to obey authority, even if disobeying one's conscience in most, but not in all cases. Thomas Hobbes eliminated the potential conflict between authority and conscience by arguing, with St. Paul, that the duty to obey authority is *always* superior to (or identical with) any other. Anarchists avoid the conflict between conscience and the obligation to obey legitimate authority by asserting that there is no legitimate authority, and, therefore, never a moral duty to obey it. But those who believe that there is (ordinarily) a moral duty to obey legitimate authority, but also (extraordinarily) a moral duty to disobey it (when it promulgates morally monstrous laws) face a problem: How do we know when to obey and when to disobey? *when* to listen to our conscience and *when* to the law? by what *general* rule can we decide and justify our decision?

The voice of his individual conscience may suffice for the conscientious objector, who claims no more than that the legal duty, the command of authority, is conscientiously (and perhaps idiosyncratically) so repugnant to him that he can not carry it out. Even if he asserts more—that to obey this law is morally wrong for everybody—he does not profess that it is his responsibility to make everybody disobey the law. But to engage in civil disobedience, let alone violent resistance, is to claim no less. It is to demand that everybody (not just those who feel they should) must disobey, that nobody has an obligation, or even a right, to obey the law of the legitimate government which legally commands us to do a morally monstrous thing. Thus, the consciences of the legitimate authority and, in a democracy, of its majority supporters, and the obligation to obey the law, are subordinated to the dictates of the conscience of the minority, which engages in civil disobedience. But our conscience can supersede that of others only if, unlike some traditional conscientious objectors, we claim to voice moral rules binding on all, and capable of invalidating those proclaimed by others. Whence these superior moral principles?

Superior Law

Attempts to indicate when the duty of disobedience replaces the duty of obedience to legitimate authority usually rely on norms, or principles, thought to be superior to the positive law of governments because they emanate from nature or God—from an authority superior to that of human legislators. Recognized by reason, these norms are thought to invalidate any positive law which violates them.

A government may accept these superior principles and contend that its positive law conforms to them. If citizens disagree, the government may subordinate itself to a decision, for instance, by ecclesiastical authority, and avoid conflict at the price of sovereignty (independence from any superior authority). But if the jurisdiction of a superior authority is rejected by the government or by the opposition—whether or not either professes belief in the superior norms to be applied by that authority—conflicts about the validity of a positive law, based on different interpretations of superior natural or divine norms, can not be resolved. The faithful citizen will have to decide for himself which side to take. And he will be wrong in the eyes of at least one of the parties, as St. Thomas More was.

If it be assumed that the accepted (e.g., ecclesiastical) authority is infallible, the moral duty of all faithful citizens and rulers is to obey its interpretations of superior law, and to relinquish their own. They must disobey any contrary inferior authority, be it their legitimate government, or their conscience. However, if the accepted authority is not thought to be infallible by either party, if it can be wrong, then its interpretation can not *ultimately* settle disagreements on natural, or divine, law: its decision may be rejected by either those who support, or those who oppose, the validity of a positive law in the light of their interpretations of natural or divine norms.

Any fallible authority could misinterpret norms; it may even support a morally monstrous positive law. History offers all too many illustrations: thus, both temporal and ecclesiastical authorities supported the Holy Office of the Inquisition. At best the fallible authority would be in the position of the U.S. Supreme Court, which interprets the Constitution to determine the validity of laws legislated by other authorities: its interpretation of the Constitution may not satisfy those who do not share it; and it could conceivably be, or become, morally monstrous. The citizen convinced that this has occurred, would have to follow his conscience instead. But his conscience, unfortunately, is not infallible either.

Nature, scripture, principles, laws or constitutions, however high their source or authority, require interpretation; they always can be interpreted to support what our conscience may call on us to disobey as monstrously immoral. Unless they postulate an infallible interpretative authority, such as never has been universally accepted in history, theories which set out to resolve the conflict between the moral duty to obey legitimate authority, and the moral duty to disobey it sometimes, evade the problem, when they appeal to the higher authority of reason, nature or God. For

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the problem is *not whether* positive laws should be disobeyed when contrary to natural law, divine law or to any other authority; the problem is how to decide *when* they are.

And the principles which might decide this require interpretation. To entrust that interpretation to any fallible authority is to embark on an infinite regress; for that authority can be wrong —and so can any fallible authority superior to it. To entrust this interpretation to the individual conscience is no better since it, too, is fallible. Further, to leave the decision to the individual conscience is to give up any rule morally binding on all, including differing consciences. Thus, unless an infallible interpretative authority is assumed, there can be no ultimate operative standard to determine *when* to disobey legitimate authority. Merely to point to superior standards is to confuse the question with the answer.

Some modern anthropologists and psychologists—e.g., Abraham Maslow, Erich Fromm et al.—have revived natural law as "human needs" or "human nature" revealed not by "reason" but by factual psychological or anthropological study. They do not tell how they derive from observed behavior, and its effects on mental health and happiness, any rule on desirable behavior. After all, neither health nor happiness nor fulfillment of "needs"—a more impressive word for desires—can be demonstrated to be the highest goal in life. (Both Christians and the ancients have often felt it necessary to sacrifice these goals for something higher, or more important.) Further, one's health or happiness may derive from one's achieving the goals of his society, from gratifying the "needs" created by it; hence, these goals can not be determined by what makes members healthy or happy, since it is achieving them—whatever they are —that does. Thus, morality as a response to "human needs" or "human nature" is no more helpful than as a response to "natural law."

Mutatis mutandis what has been said about "natural law" applies to "natural" or "human rights," rights possessed *ab ovo* qua human. The more sophisticated statement, in modern literature, however, demands a less summary argument than is possible on this occasion.

The tension between individual conscience and social authority is an aspect of the tension between the individual and the group. It can be obscured by defining "law" and "morality" so that they must coincide, or become irrelevant to each other. But to eliminate contradictions in description is not to eliminate conflicts in the experience described, in behavior, and in emotion. These conflicts can not be resolved (although, of course, on each occasion they are settled one way or another) because the moral realm resists full absorption, or exhaustion, by the legal realm, the individual by the social. We must live with these conflicts.

Best Possible

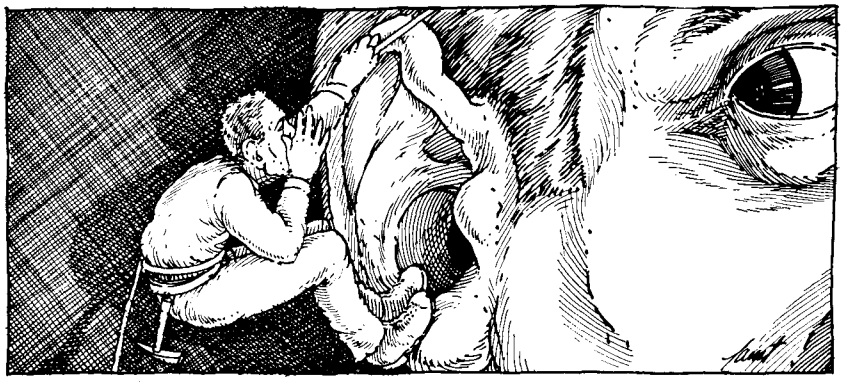
Lack of a theoretical solution in no way relieves us of the practical need to find the best solution possible; we must try to minimize conflicts in number and extent, so as to reduce injury to individuals and to the social fabric.

Now, if one rejects 1) Hobbes' proposal to eliminate the problem by discarding the individual conscience, and 2) the anarchist proposal to eliminate the problem by discarding legitimate authority; if, further, 3) one does not think that infallible moral authority is available in this world and 4) acknowledges that all fallible authorities (whatever the rules on which their decisions rest) are, by definition, vulnerable to the point of irrelevance, since their decisions never can be final in the moral sense; if finally 5) one acknowledges that conscience is fallible as well and, anyway 6) capable of creating a morally binding social rule only for those who agree on its pronouncements—which certainly describes the problem and not the solution; if, then, one gives assent to these six conclusions, how is the recurrent problem to be dealt with?

The following partly moral, partly prudential, standards suggest when moral disagreement warrants civil disobedience, and when it does not. They are, of course, no less open to differing interpretation (without a conclusive interpretative authority) than the moral standards which give rise to the disagreement in the first place. Nonetheless, they are worth listing; for, if widely accepted, they may reduce the frequency of unproductive or counterproductive civil disobedience.

One is morally justified to deliberately disobey legitimate authority if a) the protested law is morally intolerable to him and b) not likely to be remedied otherwise; and if c) the effects of the law are not revokable by probable later correction and if d) the totality of the expected effects of civil disobedience under the circumstances is, in his view, morally preferable to the totality of expected effects of any of the courses available within the law.

The last two points might benefit from illustration. The U.S. Supreme Court found that President Roosevelt did not violate the Constitution when, during World War II, he confined vast numbers of U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry to camps away from their homes, thus depriving them of livelihood, property and home, without hearings, or any showing of military necessity or individual guilt. Some people felt then, and many agree now, that the action was morally and constitutionally wrong, unneeded and outrageous. Yet, if not reversible (few actions are) the measure was revokable. Indeed, although they certainly suffered hardships (as so many guiltless citizens and soldiers did during the war) these people were able, in time, once more to enjoy the full benefits of their citizenship. Dissent certainly was justifiable in this occasion, but not civil disobedience. For the damage done was revokable. (Executions would not have been.) And civil disobedience in wartime might have been ineffective and, if effective, calamitous: the totality of its effects probably would have been morally worse than



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the effect of not engaging in it.

The standards for *coercive* civil disobedience in a democracy can be particularized then: if one believes in the legitimacy of the government, yet is outraged by a law or policy which, despite persuasion, despite even persuasive civil disobedience, the majority continues to support, *coercive* civil disobedience—and ultimately, insurrection—is justifiable if 1) the effects of the law (or policy) at issue are irrevokable and outrageous enough to prefer giving up democratic government to living with that law or policy; 2) there is reason to believe that coercion of the majority which supports the outrageous law or policy may be effective (this is unlikely but not impossible); 3) the ensuing minority policy and dictatorship, independent of and imposing on the majority (and necessarily restricting all freedom to do so) seems, in toto, morally preferable to the outrages of the majority government. It is well to remember here Sidney Hook's dictum "The democrat . . . knows that the majority can be wrong; but he will not . . . accept the rule of a minority because it occasionally may be right. . . . the process by which a minority may . . . become . . . a majority is all important . . ."

Our assumption here has been that the majority remains unpersuaded and has to be coerced, its government overthrown, to get rid of the law or policy at issue. Without this assumption persuasion suffices. There would be no case for *coercive* civil disobedience unless the coercion is applied to a local authority, or on a limited issue, in the hope of producing the support of the over-all majority thereby. Such limited *coercive* civil disobedience requires an outrage more severe than persuasive civil disobedience does, but not as severe as to lead one to prefer dictatorship to democratic majority government.

Persuasive civil disobedience is justifiable (and preferable to coercive disobedience) whenever the laws and practices protested outrage one's moral feeling sufficiently, but the effects are revokable, and one still hopes to persuade the majority—or, if one does not feel the issue warrants overthrowing democratic government in favor of a minority dictatorship which may make matters worse in the end. Neither coercive nor persuasive civil disobedience can be justified if the issue is of less than overwhelming moral importance, or if persuasion by legal means is possible and not altogether hopeless.

The outrages which would justify coercive civil disobedience in a democracy fortunately are rare. Settlers—though not quite democratically governed—have come near hunting down native populations. And the foreign and domestic policies of democracies all too often have violated the standards professed by their citizens. Yet, no democracy has ever attempted to imprison, and then to exterminate, defenseless political, social or racial groups of citizens, or foreigners. Dictatorships have done so all too frequently. Wherefore it seems unlikely that replacement of a democratic majority regime doing "bad" things, with an undemocratic minority regime not doing them (at first), is likely to improve matters effectively in the long run. Yet this is the only alternative to persuasion. Thus, the effectiveness at least of coercive civil disobedience in attaining its ultimate, as distinguished from its temporary aim, must be doubted, in most cases. □

APPENDIX
Some Marginal Arguments

1) Persuasive civil disobedience is sometimes urged in a democracy as necessary to bring about "social change." Empirically one may doubt that civil disobedience is a necessary, or effective means to do so. (Immense social changes have occurred in the U.S. and England without civil disobedience.) If it were, civil disobedience would not be justified thereby unless the desirability of the change achieved through it, and the desirability of achieving it by these means, also were shown. Such a showing could not add to the arguments in favor of persuasive civil disobedience which have been discussed already.

2) Occasionally it is argued that the willingness of those guilty of civil disobedience to "accept" their punishment exculpates them morally. Such willingness attests to their sincerity and seriousness—but it adds nothing else to the merit of their actions. No offense—be it a parking violation, a theft, or public spirited civil disobedience—can be justified by "accepting" punishment for it. The punishment declares the wrongness of the act punished; "acceptance" indicates the recognition thereof by the offender. Acceptance can not justify what it recognizes to be wrong.

The moral obligation to obey the law can never be satisfied by submitting to the punishment for not obeying it. Such submission, merely satisfies the (different) obligation to submit. Else, "acceptance" of a punishment would have to be regarded as a moral license to commit crimes, or as a post facto assertion of a "right" to do so. One would have to hold a rather odd exchange theory of criminal law to conclude that an offender, by "accepting" punishment buys a retroactive license to offend. On the contrary, the punishment is to deter, not to license, regardless of whether burglars are involved, or people engaged in civil disobedience.

In addition to being fallacious, the view that acceptance of punishment justifies civil disobedience also seems irrelevant: the acceptance of punishment by those engaged in civil disobedience has been correctly interpreted, since Socrates' days, as a sign, not of repentance, but of insistence on the moral wrongness of the law the offender protests against by his disobedience. Since it signifies continued defiance, rather than a promise henceforth to obey the law, acceptance of punishment in civil disobedience cases does not reduce the need for punishment, and can not serve as an extenuating circumstance—unlike the moral motivation of the offender which might be so considered.

3) Legal precedents such as the Nuremberg trials, occasionally have been used as justifications for civil disobedience. To the extent to which the Nuremberg precedent concerns offenses against "the laws and customs of war" it does not add to domestic legislations to which one may appeal more easily. Where the precedent went beyond domestic legislation, e.g., by branding the waging of "aggressive war" as a crime, it was not regarded as applicable, in Nuremberg, or anywhere else, to volunteer or to drafted soldiers, or officers of any rank. The precedent was applied exclusively against political leaders thought to have conspired to bring about the "aggressive war," (in practice one might replace "aggressive" with "lost," certainly a necessary if not a sufficient, characteristic of the legal ascription of "aggressive.") This precedent, therefore, can not justify resisting the draft, or refusing to fight, although it might justify an indictment of political leaders.

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SCIENTACTIVISM

Cultivating the Conservative Stereotype

WILHELM WUNDT

Social scientists often criticize something they call stereotypic thinking. Negroes, they aver, were never obsessed by watermelon; Orientals are not necessarily inscrutable; and upper-class Englishmen are not all homosexual. Despite such worthy attempts to enlighten the bumpkins and hardhats, the social scientists have created some whopping stereotypes of their own (such as the Authoritarian Personality), which they defend with a cunning well beyond the means of the simple-minded bigots they love to condemn.

In 1958 a political scientist ironically named McClosky reported that a group of people he chose to call "conservatives" had scored high on Contempt for Human Weakness, high on Intolerance of Human Frailty, and low on Social Responsibility. Last year following in McClosky's wake an aspiring psychologist came along to illuminate this pseudometric stereotype of the hard-hearted, unsocial conservative on the very breeding ground of conservatism —New York City!

While a doctoral candidate at City University of New York, our budding behavorist bothered 230 Liberal Party members and 217 registered Conservatives with an unexpected phone call for help from a (bogus) stranded motorist. Realizing the caller had a wrong number, 43 of the subjects hung up before finding out that they could have come to the rescue of the purported victim simply by phoning his tow service—since (so the story went) he had used up his last dime getting the wrong number. Those 404 who had enough patience to hear the caller out either gave "Help" by dialing the supposed tow-service number and talking unwittingly to a researcher or gave "No Help," by not dialing. In half of the pleas for help the bogus victim had a "white accent," in the other half a "black accent."

The investigator tested two hypotheses: 1) white victims would get more help from the liberals than from the hard-hearted, unsocial conservatives, 2) black victims would be more discriminated against by the conservatives than by the liberals.

Studies like this one are advertised to scientists, scholars, journalists and students through the widely read *Psychological Abstracts*. Therefore, we should scrutinize our author's 103-word abstract to learn what impression he intended to give of his research.

"As expected," he wrote, "the extent to which blacks were helped less frequently than whites was greater for Conservative than Liberal Party members. Nevertheless, it seems that Liberal antiblack sentiment was observed when Liberals [hung up prematurely] more frequently for the black than white callers. Results suggest that Liberals may act in a less than egalitarian manner [when the rules of etiquette are not clear]."

Except for one additional sentence describing the method, this is the whole substance of the abstract. What does it tell us, and what does it not tell us?

The abstract explicitly says that the conservatives discriminated white from black callers more than the liberals did; it implies that this difference arose when conservatives gave less help to blacks than liberals gave. The abstract says that this result was just what the author expected.

The abstract does *not* tell us which group gave more help to whites, although one of the author's two hypotheses had addressed that question. Instead, we are treated to an incidental finding of liberal antiblack prejudice along with some ad hoc speculation that serves to weaken the finding.

What is the box score at this point? The abstract has led us to believe that conservatives give less help to blacks than liberals do, though liberals sometimes slip when social prescriptions are vague. If we had no other information, we should have to go on believing that conservatives can never qualify as Good Guys. But let us look into the *Proceedings of the American Psychological Association 78th Annual Convention*, where the article itself gives a rather different picture—if one reads carefully and does not overlook the table.

First, let me get the author's gratuitous remarks about social rules out of the way. What are the special, ambiguous circumstances in which liberals may be excused for hanging up on black callers? I must perforce condense the author's verbose argument, but I will not distort it. He says that familiar propositions asserting that liberals are comparative Good Guys must be set in a context of person and situation. Conservatives, being ethnocentric, are responsible and sympathetic to members of their own, white group. Liberals, on the other hand, are more egalitarian—though when the social prescription for good behavior is ambiguous, liberals may show antiblack sentiment. This fault, however, can be excused; after all, "is it appropriate or inappropriate to hang up after informing a person that he has reached the wrong number?"

A cute argument but a completely spurious one. The Liberals, we learn, not only hung up on more *persons* than the conservatives did (liberals 29, conservatives 14), they also hung up on more *black* persons than *white* persons (numbers not revealed), while the conservative hung up on black and white equally. When it comes to hanging up, the Liberals were clearly churls. No trumped up ambiguity nor even a *tu quoque* can be adduced to save them from disgrace. The last sentence of the abstract therefore stands exposed as a smoke screen obscuring the liberal hangup and distracting us from the author's failure to tell the fate of Hypothesis I.

What about Hypothesis II? Did it, like Hypotheses I, turn out just as the author expected? To our surprise we read: "It seems that conservatives, compared to liberals, tend to have greater social responsibility, feelings of sympathy, etc., toward others of their

Mr. Wundt is a scholar who has made a career of studying the whys and wherefores of liberal bias.

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own 'kind' [the whites, that is]. Surely, this is the essence of ethnocentrism." *Fascinating!* The conservatives treated the white caller better than the liberals did—and there goes Hypothesis I right down the drain. Best to say nothing about this unpleasant turn of events in the abstract, which will be read by so many.

But—pleads the author—the conservatives could pull this off only because they are so maddeningly ethnocentric. Very well. If the conservatives are more ethnocentric than the liberals (otherwise, why mention it?), they must have treated the black caller pretty shabbily. We would hardly accuse the conservatives of ethnocentrism just because they helped their own kind *more*; they would also have to show xenophobia by helping the outsiders *less*, would they not?

At long last, let us look at the author's table of results. There we find that the conservatives helped the white caller 92 per cent of the time, while the liberals helped the white caller only 76 per cent of the time. If the liberals are going to recoup their goodguyness, they will have to top the conservatives by at least 17 per cent in charity to the black caller; if they fail, the Good-Guy Trophy will have to be sent back to the conservatives.

Are you ready for this? All right. The table tells us that, while the sympathetic, responsible, egalitarian liberals helped the black caller 64 per cent of the time, the hard-hearted, unsocial, ethnocentric conservatives helped the black caller *65* per cent of the time. There goes the trophy. And now I have a few words for the author.

Doctor, you have overlooked something, and so have the members of your dissertation committee—or have they? Presumably the committee members read this article almost as carefully as I did, since they knew it was to be published with their names appended. Men of their experience could quickly tell, as I did, that your conclusions grossly misrepresent your results. Even if you were carried away by an excess of gnostic afflatus, their wisdom should have restrained you. It did not.

My friends, a strange kind of science is brewing at dear old CUNY. When the numbers turn out badly, the modern scientactivist simply nullifies them by non sequiturs in his discussion and omissions from his abstract. He could, of course, change the numbers themselves and escape detection altogether, but then he would have to admit to himself that he was no longer a scientist. Loss of the scientist role might severely damage his self concept. Today's scientactivist has learned to have his science and twist it too. Who can say, in a particular case, whether this perversion results from purposive dishonesty or foolish self-deception? Either way, it is pitiful.

Despite my reservations about the objectivity of the candidate (who, by the way, is now a university professor) or the ethics of his faculty committee, I would not leave the impression that this study is worthless. On the contrary, our informant planned well and no doubt executed his plan carefully. He observed actual political groups rather than the usual suspect hypothetical classes, and actual social behavior (dialing in the belief that one was helping) rather than mere questionnaire responses. I think this article says something important about the shop-

(Continues on page 59)

The KGB of NYC

I AM SMUGGLING this message out in an Andy Warholesque tomato can to protest the oppression of New York's intelligentsia by the KGB (Kulchur Gurus' Brotherhood), an infamous organization whose existence here is denied, yet of whom everyone lives in fear.

A girl I know was recently picked up in Washington Square Park by a young man who evidently worked for the KGB. She had been reading a novel. Did she not know the novel was dead? he asked, and then he marched her into one of those dimly lit cellars on nearby McDougal Street for further questioning. (During the whole time, she only got one glass of muddy coffee and at one point he even threatened to take her to an off-off-Broadway show.)

Naturally, the girl should have known the novel was dead. During the past several years, the following have been announced to be dead—all of them by decrees of the KGB, and all of them without trial:

The story; the character; the past; Broadway; Protestant ethics; off-Broadway; Pete Fountain (and jazz); representational painting; non-representational painting; all painting: Hollywood; ideology; melody; John Wayne (and the Western); Communism (and the cold war); the American dream; the printed word; Sigmund Freud; Frank Sinatra, Norman Mailer, and God. (Mailer has been posthumously rehabilitated.)

No one ever knows whose turn will be next. One day he is in, the next day he is a nonperson whose name people dare not mention at chic New York cocktail parties which are apt to be infiltrated by the KGB.

But the KGB also has other means of keeping New York intelligentsia in a state of frightened docility: op art shows where art patrons are tormented by visual tricks till their optic nerves give out; the Electric Circus where suspected elderly squares are tortured by flashing lights and a decibel count guaranteed to make them deaf till they admit they are squares. Since no culture-minded New Yorker knows when he may find himself in one of those places, or why, they are all very careful not to say anything against the KGB in print—just read our critics. But passive resistance keeps growing. Even some intellectuals of seemingly unimpeachable effeteness are rumored to hide action-packed fiction in their drawers, to listen to jazz, and even to watch old Holywood movies on the Late Late Show in the dead of the night. Others have paintings on the walls instead of collages of stuffed pheasants and monkey wrenches.

Tourists from Free Montana are naturally never told about any of this. They are sent to the Radio City Music Hall, then to *The Fantasticks* and then perhaps to a Village nightclub where a few jazzmen are still allowed to play, as window dressing for visitors. The tourist returns home reporting that New York was fun, really, and though he would not want to live there, of course, he had seen no KGB and the theater and movie patrons did not look oppressed.

Nor does the UN know. They are sitting right here, but I don't suppose they dare to go out *anywhere* in New York at night, even Radio City.

B. JICINSKI

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CATALOG OF COURSES: AQUARIUS U.

Non Campus Mentis

JOHN D. KIRWAN

EVEN THOUGH the fall semester is about completed on most campuses, the majority of parents (and nearly all students) still have little idea what to expect from the modern university—save that it strives to be relevant. Therefore, as a public service, I have culled from the catalogs of several of our leading groves of academe the following selected sample courses, designed to prepare our youth for the challenging world of tomorrow . . .

Basic English

Offers a course to help students in the fundamentals of reading, writing and penmanship. The spelling of big words (notably *dichotomy* and *synergistic*) will be stressed and students will discuss the validity of such concepts as "neatness counts." Initial workshops will stress the pencil; then, as language-arts techniques improve, gradually evolve into the use of pen and ink.

Studies in Modern Philosophy

The purpose of this course is to demonstrate conclusively that nothing is. Conducted by Professor Rensalier, author of *The Knowledge of Null* and editor of the *Negative Absolute Quarterly*, the class will examine such questions as "why?" and "why not?" A prime object of this course is to help students with an identity crisis discover there is no such thing as identity.

Urban Planning

According to Edgar Twinewell, nationally known consultant on city housing, who conducts this seminar: "There are no prerequisites, no reading lists and no tests. The kids and I will sit around and bat the breeze, in the hope that by the symbiosis of minds some solution to our urban problems will be achieved. If not, well, what the hell?"

Introduction to Economics and Business Management

This series of lectures will concentrate on the role of the executive in today's society and the changing nature of the contemporary corporation. The class will discuss such topics as the fallacy of the profit concept, the social responsibilities of institutionalized greed and how businessmen can be helped to recognize their guilt. As a term project, the class will write a collective essay on "The Need To Repeal the Industrial Revolution." The reading list includes Nader, Galbraith, Henry Wallace and *The Collected Works of Harriet Van Horne*.

Problems of Underdeveloped Nations

Led by W. J. Watersby, former Director of the Foundation for Backward Countries (now the Association of Aspiring States). The societal and cultural backgrounds of selected emerging nations will be examined, as well as such contemporary problems as the difficulties of providing food, clothing and shelter. Guest lecturers from the United Nations will appear to highlight the responsibilities of America regarding aid for their respective underdeveloped nations. Emphasis will be placed upon the fact that Rhodesia does not exist.

Classical Literature

Conducted by Associate Professor W. "Spud" Carfax. Students will read and critically discuss classical literature, measuring it against contemporary writing to see how the problems of bygone days are relevant to our own. The pros and cons, as well as the pluses and minuses, of these works will be probed in depth. Among the works to be examined are *On the Road*, *Howl*, *Bonjour Tristesse* and *Hamlet* (edited and simplified for modern readers).

Education for Teachers

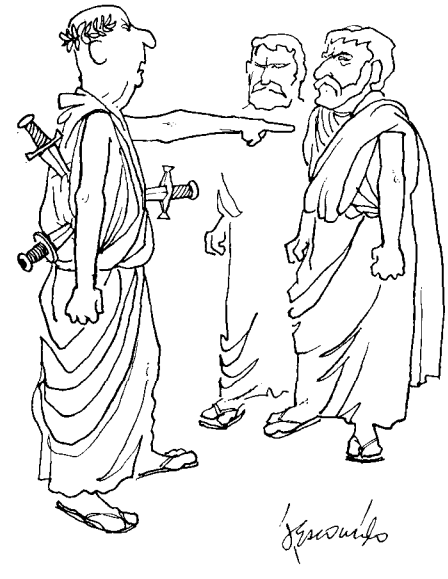
This course is structured to serve as a theoretical foundation for student teachers, to enable them to establish more rewarding dialogues with their future pupils. The discussions will be led by Jeremy J. Grillfinder PhD (Hon.), author of *To Hell with Kirk and Rickover* and *The Beauty of Being Intellectually Underprivileged*. The importance of the subachiever to society will be examined, as well as techniques for helping "bright" children adjust to their peer groups. Such modern visual aids as posters will be given comparative study.

Marriage and the Family

Designed to give the college-aged youth fresh insights into crises of contemporary conjugality. Professor Emeritus Grover C. Whisp will discuss such concepts as: "Is two company?"; "The sociological balance of the extended family"; "Orgasms made easy." A special feature of this course is the three-part lecture "Variety is the spouse of life," led by the former Mrs. Whisps. *Note*: Due to a lack of registrants, the seminar on *Making Marriage Work* will not be given this semester.

Religion and Contemporary Society

Guided by the Reverend Doctor Fielmaus, author of *Making the Scene Godwise and Other Sermons*, this course will deal with such problems as: "Just how dead is God?"; "Is relevance relevant?"; "Can modern man live a moral life while not giving a damn?" In line with the democratic principles he has so long espoused, Reverend Fielmaus says: "Participation by all students will be encouraged and equal weight will be given to everyone's opinions." □



"All right; don't tell me! Let me guess! Sump'm is bugging you guys. Right, Brutus?"

John Kirwan is a freelance writer and reviewer, and upon occasion a poet.

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ECONOMIC NONSENSE

Miss Ward's Angry Seventies

COLIN CLARK

I FIRST MET Barbara Ward twenty years ago, in Australia. At that time her husband held an official position in the Australian government. Australia was not a country in which she felt at home, and they did not stay long.

Twenty years ago Barbara Ward already had a considerable reputation, and immediately upon meeting her I plunged into a conversation about movements in the terms of trade and other urgent economic problems of the day. She retorted, somewhat crossly, that she was not an economist and did not wish to discuss such matters.

Neither she is. The misunderstanding arose because she used to write for the London journal the *Economist*, which deals with economic problems, but also is largely concerned with politics, business and other matters. The subject on which Barbara Ward used to write was international relations. She did not and does not understand economics; as was shown by the embarrassing *contretemps* at Columbia University where she was granted a very large endowment, but nonetheless the economics faculty complained that she was not qualified to teach for them.

However, a large part of the religious world regards her as a super-economist, indeed almost a semidivine figure. I once attended an ecumenical religious service in which a reading from Barbara Ward was substituted for the Epistle. She appears to have a major influence with the Pope's Commission on Justice and Peace, which deals with economic and social affairs, and her recent booklet *The Angry Seventies* has been published in the name of the Commission.

The Pope's infallibility rests with him alone, and is not delegated to ecclesiastical commissions. In any case, it only relates to matters of faith and morals, not to questions of economic fact or analysis. Nonetheless, it is regrettable that a commission appointed by the Pope should publish a document containing so many glaring errors.

Barbara Ward begins with the statement that "not one of the beneficent self-reinforcing processes of the nineteenth century is at work" in the economics of the developing countries. Leaving on one side the question of how far nineteenth-century performance coincided with nineteenth-century theory, the fact is that the developing countries (and, for that matter, the rest of the world too) are now advancing economically much more rapidly than ever before. In India, where the rate of population growth is now much higher than it was, the rate of increase of *per head* production is now nearly three times higher than it was in the past, or than the most optimistic estimates which Indian economists were willing to make 25 years ago—despite all of India's errors in economic policy.

Agricultural production in the developing countries, Barbara Ward says, has only just kept pace with population growth and in some cases production per head has fallen. Taking the developing countries as a whole, agricultural production per head is 5 per cent higher than it was in 1952 to 1956. But this average is an aggregation of some countries with extremely bad records, a number of which have made exceptional progress and the majority of which have made moderately good progress. Barbara Ward refrains from pointing out the countries where agricultural production per head has shown a heavy decline. One look at the list, and we can immediately identify political disorder, and attempts at the "collectivization" of agriculture as the cause—Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, Tunisia and Uruguay. The only other case of a heavy decline was the Dominican Republic, affected by the U.S. sugar quota. Slight declines were shown by Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines and Syria. Every other developing country showed an increase in agricultural production per head over this period, including striking increases of 15 per cent or more in many of the Latin American republics, Nationalist China, Korea, Malaysia and Thailand.

In many of the developing countries, agricultural production should indeed have increased more rapidly. The principal obstacles (particularly marked in Argentina, Chile and India) have been, not lack of adequate land, but their governments' mania for heavy industry, and consequent unfavorable treatment of farmers in the matters of fertilizers, equipment and markets. A country cannot industrialize unless agricultural productivity increases fast enough to feed a large industrial population—a consideration so obvious that "planners" ignore it. Shortage of food is one of the root causes of the raging inflation with which many (but by no means *all*) of the Latin American republics are plagued.

Another basic consideration which planners ignore, because they find it inconvenient, is that the developing countries are going to need rapidly increasing imports of every kind of goods. Loans and gifts will cover only a small part of their import requirements, however generous the donor countries may be, and they will have to export sufficient to pay for the remainder. The only possible exports at present, for most of the developing countries, are agricultural products.

THE DEVELOPING countries have a legitimate grievance (which Barbara Ward does not stress adequately), in that the prices of the agricultural products which they export are steadily declining in terms of the prices of the manufactured goods they import. The world market for the agricultural products sold in international trade is rising at the rate of 4 per cent per year. But a large part of it is preempted by exports from the advanced countries, produced with the aid of farm subsidies. When the developing countries attempt to turn to industrial exports, their first choice is usually textiles, suited to an unskilled labor force—and here they come up against blocked markets in America and Europe. If we want the poorer countries to develop as comparatively free economies, the first thing which we must do is remove these ob-

Mr. Clark is with the Institute of Economic Progress at Monash University, Victoria, Australia. He has written extensively on population and agricultural problems.

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stacles, in face of the objections of our own agricultural and textile interests.

Barbara Ward, like many other writers before her, demands "stabilization" of the prices of the products which the poorer countries export. She seems to think that stabilization can be attained just by saying so, and does not seem to be aware that it can only be attained by imposing severe restrictions on production. This would do great harm, for instance, to poor African farmers just embarking on coffee growing and benefit established producers in Brazil and elsewhere.

Barbara Ward is right in citing the excessive attraction of population to the capital cities as one of the most acute problems of the developing countries. This attraction is understandable. From a point of view of a half-employed rural laborer in Latin America, the capital city is the only place where there is a chance of better employment for himself, as well as education for his children. The remedy is for the developing countries to establish new major growth centers. This is something that they must do for themselves—we cannot do it for them. We could set them an example—which we have signally failed to do. Barbara Ward is associated with the town-planning zealot Doxiadis, who is planning gigantic aggregations of thirty million population or more.

Barbara Ward's outlook is extraordinarily—and erroneously—pessimistic. Economic advance in the developing countries is almost impossible, she thinks, because of the high capital requirements of modern industry. A man could be provided with his required capital equipment in the past, she says, by saving six months' earnings—now it's more like thirty years' earnings which have to be saved. Where she got hold of this misinformation one cannot imagine. The industrialization of Japan, both in the past and now, has required a net capital stock (excluding housing) equivalent to only about two years' production.

The panacea for nearly all the rural difficulties in the developing countries, she says, is "land reform," or government purchase of large estates, and their redistribution among the tenants. Those who advocate land reform should study the actual experience of how it has worked in various times and places. Ironically, the most successful land reform on record was that carried out by a British Conservative government in Ireland in 1904. Other examples of successful land reforms were those carried out by Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, by the U.S. Military Administration in Japan in 1945 (though in this case the compensation payments were flagrantly unjust) and by Nasser in Egypt. On the other hand, Mexican agriculture took twenty years to recover from the effects of the land reforms of 1910; and the land reforms carried out in Eastern Europe in the 1920s were also comparatively unsuccessful.

THE KEY to this problem is that land reform will work where you are dealing with a literate rural population, but not where it is mainly illiterate, as is still the case in Latin America. Education is more urgent than land reform. But the most urgent of all needs, for rural populations still living by subsistence agriculture, is improved transport.

Barbara Ward demands that an increasing proportion of all the aid which is given to the poorer countries should be channeled through international agencies. No evidence is advanced to show that they will handle the money better than other organizations—indeed, all the indications are to the contrary. One concludes that she must have a liking for the international bureaucracies for their own sake.

An exception might be made however in the case of the World Bank, which has shown that it administers funds at its disposal very efficiently. The World Bank frankly tells the borrowing countries that it does not trust them to be either honest or efficient, and has its projects checked at every step by its own engineers and accountants. (The German ecclesiastical organization *Misereor* acts in the same manner.)

Politicians in the borrowing countries, in fact, appreciate this sort of straight talk. There are wheels within wheels which we do not fully understand. An Asian or African politician finds himself surrounded by hordes of relatives and hangers-on, and is under almost irresistible pressure to give them a cut of the foreign aid funds, if it is in any way within his power to do so. It suits him very well to be able to say that he would like to do so, but that these bastards from the World Bank have made it impossible.

Barbara Ward sternly demands that

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"I want to remind our viewers that opinions expressed on this show do not necessarily reflect the views of this network."

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THE NEW MERCANTILISM

Makeshift Monetary Solution

HENRY HAZLITT

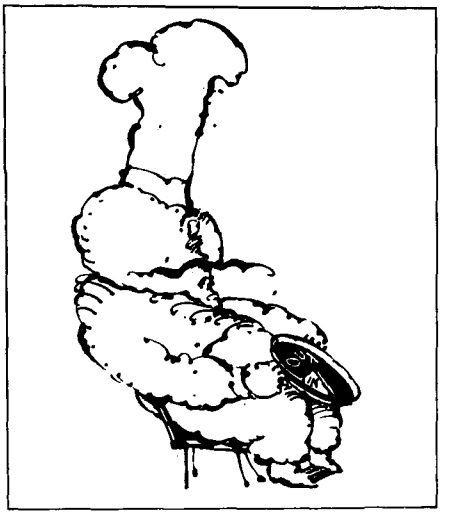
On December 18, when the dollar was devalued by 8.57 per cent, and the ten leading industrial nations agreed to adopt a new set of exchange rates, the result was hailed by President Nixon as "the most significant monetary agreement in the history of the world."

Yet the agreement is little more than a makeshift effort to glue the old Humpty-Dumpty IMF (International Monetary Fund) system together again. It adopts what looks at the moment like more "realistic" exchange rates. Otherwise it seeks to resume the same system of fiat paper currencies to be held at fixed relations to each other by government exchange controls.

The fundamental problem has once again been ignored. How long are the new rates and cross-rates likely to remain "realistic"? Practically every country will want to continue inflation, because according to the still dominant Keynesian ideology, continuous inflation is necessary to maintain "full employment." But some nations will continue to inflate their currencies faster than others. Therefore they will have more trouble supporting their currencies and will finally devalue again.

Up until August 15 last year the maintenance of fixed foreign exchange rates by governmental controls still served some purpose. As long as all other currencies were convertible at a fixed rate into the dollar, and the dollar itself was really convertible at a fixed rate of $35 an ounce into gold, the dollar was a sort of anchor for all other currencies. If other nations wanted to keep their currencies convertible at their announced parities with the dollar, they had to refrain from excessive inflation. Above all, if the U.S. wanted to keep the dollar convertible into gold at $35 an ounce, it had to refrain still more from inflation.

Now that there is no pretense that even the dollar is convertible into gold, not only is the change from a rate of $35 to a rate of $38 meaningless, but the maintenance of pegged cross-rates between national currencies no longer makes much sense. It would probably be just as well, for the time being, to allow each currency to float, with its



values determined from day to day by supply and demand in a free market.

In the long run this system will not prove very satisfactory. It will be full of uncertainties; it will tend to embarrass and reduce international trade and especially long-term international investment. But no sound order will be possible as long as the world is dominated, as now, by two related myths: 1) that continuous currency inflation is necessary for "full employment"; and 2) that it is a wonderful advantage to a country's economy to lower the exchange rate of its own currency unit in terms of other currency units.

It is true that when a country succeeds in suddenly lowering the relative exchange rate of its currency unit, its exports will tend to increase and its imports to fall. This occurs because the devaluing country's exports will be cheaper in terms of other currencies and its imports will cost its own citizens more in terms of their currency. If the country has had substantial unemployment this will tend to reduce it. But this stimulation will be only temporary. Soon *internal* prices in the devaluing country will begin to rise, reflecting the depreciation of its currency.

Whenever a country devalues, a new equilibrium between its internal prices and those of other countries, compensating for the new foreign exchange rates, is sooner or later brought about. A new "purchasing power parity" is established. The special export stimulus and import deterrent cease to exist. The country must then resort to a further devaluation to restore them.

But wholly apart from the temporary nature of this export stimulus, is it really an advantage to a country to increase its exports and reduce its imports by depreciating its currency? One of the major achievements of the classical economists was to point out that this supposed advantage was an illusion. As John Stuart Mill put it:

> The only direct advantage of foreign commerce consists in the imports. A country obtains things which it either could not have produced at all, or which it must have produced at a greater expense of capital and labor than the cost of the things which it exports to pay for them. It thus obtains a more ample supply of the commodities it wants, for the same labor and capital. . . . The vulgar theory disregards this benefit, and deems the advantage of commerce to reside in the exports: as if not what a country obtains, but what it parts with, by its foreign trade, was supposed to constitute the gain to it.

The real advantage of international trade is that it promotes the more efficient employment of the productive forces of each country and of the world in general. A nation that engages in competitive devaluation merely forces its own consumers to pay higher prices and enjoy fewer goods and services than otherwise.

In time the world's governments will no doubt recognize the enormous advantages of returning to a gold standard. But as long as the present inflationary ideology prevails this is neither likely nor practicable.

There is one crucial step, however, that this country could and should take immediately. This is to remove the prohibition on the right of private citizens to own, buy, sell or make contracts in gold. This is an abridgment of individ-

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Mr. Hazlitt was for many years the economic columnist for Newsweek. *His most recent book is* Strike: For and Against.

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WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

Land of the Free

THE LAW FORBIDDING SIN

JUDGE JULIUS HELFAND, Acting Justice of the New York Supreme Court, announced his retirement recently, and used the occasion to propose some startling reforms. What caught my eye was his plea to legalize gambling, on the eye-catching grounds that this will eliminate gambling as a source of police corruption.

That's not a new idea by any means, but it may sound new to New York City, the police corruption capital of the world. And it may be the key to much broader reforms. Why not eliminate all the sources of police corruption? Why not legalize prostitution, narcotics (minors excluded), and other "crimes" with shakedown potential?

The economics of corruption is rooted in the most cherished delusion of the state, that it can Save Us From Ourselves. Legislators, who have always and everywhere been men of unspeakable purity and innocence, understand perhaps better than you and I how sinful sin can be; so they make it a crime. When the law says no and the market says yes, here comes the cop with his hand out. The cop offers a useful service: not enforcing the law, so that the market for sin can function. For this he receives a fee. The money is paid because the law makes sin highly profitable by restricting the supply without restricting the demand. If New York had enough sidewalk hostesses to satisfy the demand, they wouldn't be getting fifty bucks a trick. If, say, prostitution were perfectly legal, there would be no law for the cop not to enforce for a fee. Adieu, corruption.

Objection: freedom implies a high level of personal responsibility. Where there is no legal deterrent to bad behavior, we need individual self-restraint —encouraged by high moral standards in the community. Thus, in a period of low moral standards (A.D. 1972), repealing the conscience laws is not libertarianism but libertinism, tantamount to positively encouraging these vile passions. "Strong laws for weak people," and so on. *Reply*: 1) the law didn't deter bad behavior; it encouraged it by increasing its profits. 2) The law created the conditions for further bad behavior, such as official corruption. 3) By usurping the responsibility for moral behavior, the law encourages individuals to rely on central authority rather than their own consciences, and thus actually brings about the general moral decline in question. 4) Similarly, the law discourages the only reform that can possibly ease the problem: boycott. When there's no demand, adieu supply. If reformers were denied access to the law, they would have to resort to something that works better: the appeal to individual conscience. Christians need not be reminded that this was the language of persuasion used by Christ.

LET'S START, then, by repealing the laws covering "victimless" crimes.

Bedroom laws. Which does more harm—irregular sexual practices of consenting adults, married or no; or a law that invites police surveillance of the boudoir? Repeal.

Narcotics laws. If memory serves, hard drugs were illegalized around 1913 when there was no problem to speak of; soft drugs around 1937 when there was no problem to speak of. Since the passage of these laws, both hard and soft drugs have become a huge headache. This is Prohibition again in all its glory. Booming drug sales ("ban it in Boston!"). Huge profits for the criminals. Huge losses due to organized crime: tens of thousands of addicts stealing millions of dollars a day to support their addictions (i.e., to pay the high prices charged by the Mob and the Vice Squads). Law enforcers shooting or jailing people for possession of chemicals. People shooting law enforcers trying to take their chemicals. Law enforcers selling the chemicals they have just confiscated on the black market. People dying of overdoses and impure drugs (drug deaths are by far the highest cause of mortality among the young in New York City; the life expectancy of a heroin addict is five years). Huge expenses to the taxpayer in trying to control the problem. Encouragement of unhealthy "rebellion," law-defiance, by users, notably young people. All this to protect us from ourselves! Judge Helfand suggests the distribution of free narcotics by federal clinics, which would solve almost all the problems above but would introduce new ones: another bureaucracy and federally encouraged addiction (there is no such thing as a free hit). With the exception of sales to minors, the laws should be repealed.

Vice laws. If people want to play the horses or patronize hookers, there's no way to stop them by force. The laws simply aggravate the problem. Repeal.

Rent controls. Almost the perfect deterrent to new construction, the perfect deterrent to slum upgrading, a rich source of bribes for official inspectors. Repeal.

Interest ceilings, usury laws. The market sets interest rates according to the degree of risk. By putting a ceiling on interest rates, the law merely drives bad risks into the arms of criminal lenders who may charge 50 per cent *a week* and collect it with a gun. Repeal.

Judge Helfand knows what he's talking about. Some years ago he presided over a case that implicated five hundred of New York's Finest—up to the rank of deputy commissioner—in a $20 million-a-year bookmaking operation. Three hundred resigned, 22 were indicted, ten were convicted, and the rest applied for retirement. The bookmaker was paying off an entire police division to the tune of one million bucks a year. "The bookie made a mistake one weekend," the judge said. "He lost nearly $100,000 he bet on football games and couldn't pay off. He fled to California. Police officials, seeing their $1 million meal ticket disappearing, staked him to new money so he could continue in business."

Thus the laws to stamp out sin. In the name of virtue, they should be repealed. □

William F. Rickenbacker is editor of the Rickenbacker Report, *an investment advisory service and publisher of the* Financial Book Service.

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RUSSELL KIRK

From the Academy

HOW MAY THE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE SURVIVE?

LITTLE OLD Hillsdale College, in a pleasant half-forgotten region of southern Michigan, installed a new president, Dr. George C. Roche III, not long ago. Somehow I had been converted simultaneously into a delegate from a medieval university and a journalist, for the purpose of this ceremony.

The luncheon speaker was a Mr. William Buckley, whose name some readers of this page may recognize. A press conference followed: I was tempted to inquire of Mr. Buckley, in the finest traditions of liberal journalism, "Mr. Buckley, does your presence at this gathering signify that this college will become a center for reaction?"

One trusts, actually, that Hillsdale College will be reactionary, in the sense that T. S. Eliot proclaimed himself a reactionary. Much in the modern age should be reacted against. Unless a human body can react against disease, it becomes a corpse. Unless an independent college can react against the leveling uniformity of our time, it must perish.

Dr. Roche, youthful as his college is venerable, speaks well and reasons well. President Roche refuses to accept any federal grants in aid of his college. Hillsdale is far from well endowed; but it is not to be bought with a price. Without largesse from Washington, Dr. Roche proposes to reduce costs and raise standards simultaneously.

Marvelous to relate, President Roche has been so bold as to define the ends of his college. "Let me make it very clear that Hillsdale College," he puts it, "does stand for a particular set of values. As an institution, we and the students, parents and alumni whom we serve are representatives of a viewpoint that recognizes a Creator, that presupposes a fixed set of moral values operative within the universe, that demands of the individual not only freedom but responsibility. . . . And as a privately financed, totally voluntary institution, we may reasonably expect that the values which define Hillsdale should be reflected in everything which the college does, including its classroom teaching."

Hillsdale, 127 years old, is one of the liberal-arts colleges (Kalamazoo, Albion and Adrian are others) founded in southern Michigan about the time when Miss Harriet Martineau said of the region that Milton must have had it in mind when he wrote the garden parts of *Paradise Lost*. Hillsdale remains a good quiet place to cultivate the garden of the mind, if any students still are interested in culture: as Samuel Johnson said of St. Andrews University, here one is relieved of the temptations and distractions of the city, in a place conducive to study.

Really, students are dropping out of Behemoth University in droves, and not because they are compelled to. (It's next to impossible to get one's self expelled from Behemoth U nowadays.) Some complain that Behemoth's amorphous curriculum is "irrelevant," and surely they are right, if sometimes for the wrong reasons: Behemoth's curriculum is irrelevant to the life of reason and to the moral imagination. Others, by no means prudish or purely contemplative, flee from Behemoth because of the "open" dormitories, in which one cannot study, sleep or even be sure that one's purse or one's person will remain inviolate.

The chief advantages of collegiate study, as distinguished from private reading and experience of the world, are personal relationships on a humane scale with other students; friendly acquaintance with professors who actually profess something or other; and access to enough books. The ice rinks and spectator sports and mob demonstrations of Behemoth U are only distractions from what ought to be the satisfying academic community.

Why aren't such liberal-arts colleges overwhelmed with eager first-rank applicants for admission? Because of the price of tuition, for one thing: Hillsdale, though not so expensive as some, now costs $2,155 annually in tuition. (When a graduate student at Duke, I paid $250 in tuition for a year; at St. Andrews University, more recently, I paid about $45 a year as a doctoral candidate.) Yet does no young person think of borrowing? That's easier than once it was; indeed, some charitable loan funds go begging for applicants.

"In the years ahead," says Dr. Roche, "the schools which fail will be the schools which were unwilling to adopt a clearly defined stand, the schools which refused to stand for a definite set of beliefs. Nothing of the sort must be allowed to happen here."

BUT TO WHAT beliefs? Permit me here to quote some rich, beautiful prose published sixteen years ago:

> To the proposition that the end of education is the elevation of the reason of the human person, for the human person's own sake. To the proposition that the higher imagination is better than the sensate triumph. To the proposition that the fear of God, and not the mastery over man and nature, is the object of learning. To the proposition that quality is worth more than quantity. To the proposition that justice takes precedence over power. To the proposition that order is more lovable than egoism. To the proposition that to believe all things, if the choice must be made, is nobler than to doubt all things. To the proposition that honor outweighs success. To the proposition that tolerance is wiser than ideology. To the proposition, Socratic and Christian, that the unexamined life is not worth living. If the academy holds by these propositions, not all the force of Caesar can break down its walls; but if the academy is bent upon sneering at everything in heaven and earth, or upon reforming itself after the model of the marketplace, not all the eloquence of the prophets can save it.

Do I assent to those lines? I do: I wrote them. President Roche, with whom I have been acquainted for some years, assents to them. If a college cannot find decent students and generous benefactors by adhering to such propositions—why, it had better not survive at all. I wish George Roche Godspeed. □

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BOOKS

The Johnson Treatment

The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963-69
By Lyndon B. Johnson
Holt, 636 pp., $15

M. STANTON EVANS

Despite his stated taste for consensus, former President Lyndon Johnson has never been far from intense political controversy. His election to the Senate was an occasion of dispute and in certain circles remains one; his legislative career was full of argument and action; so was his tenure in the White House. Now, after a few years of relative quiet, he has returned to the wars again with publication of his Presidential memoirs.

The book has the usual features of executive reminiscence, but is distinctively LBJ—a hard-cover version of the celebrated "Johnson treatment." During his years in Washington, the former President was noted for his overpowering method of persuasion—a combination of wheedling bathos and energetic repetition which eventually wore down the most hardened skeptic. Now we have it all in print, replete with down-home anecdotes, political *schmaltz*, and the recycled New Deal aphorisms which were staple elements of the Johnson forensic style.

The Vantage Point is thus a brief for LBJ, and its critics are largely correct in saying it is not a work of history. Its passages on domestic issues, in particular, are of limited interest because they are both predictable and orthodox. The discussion here is ritual apology for the welfare state, civil-rights bills, the war on poverty, minimum-wage hikes, Medicare, public housing, federal aid to everything. No acknowledgment is made that a right-minded person could object to any of this, all of it described in political poster terms as "the struggle for justice" and "progressive social legislation." The principal utility of his argument may be the manner in which it lays to rest the canard that Lyndon Johnson was ever a political conservative.

A footnote of possible therapeutic value to Republicans concerns the manner in which Johnson and Democrats in Congress were able to manipulate the Republican yen for "problem-solving" and "constructive alternatives." The late Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican minority leader, comes off especially badly in this respect. Dirksen is repeatedly described by Johnson as a tower of strength—for Johnson. The former President provides us glowing descriptions of the manner in which Dirksen's cooperation insured the passage of crucial Democratic measures—most notably the civil-rights bills of 1964 and 1968, and the consular treaty of 1967. Johnson describes as well the alacrity with which the Democrats snatched up the Republican "constructive alternatives" to Medicare in 1965, made it part of their package, and slyly locked the GOP into support of the total program.

As these reflections suggest, there are countless issues on which one may disagree with Johnson, but the issue on which he has received the most relentless criticism is the one on which he is essentially correct—his discussion of Vietnam. Again, of course, he employs the Johnson treatment, and again he is woefully short on philosophical content. Yet the argument has its own brand of cogency, derived from the fact that it consists of an empirical review of the Vietnam record and that it cuts strongly against, instead of with, the grain of received opinion. The treatment here is his assertion, offered over and over again, that the Indochina war into which America was drawn during his years in office was the result —always—of Communist intransigence.

Johnson's discussion is long on factual matter which the Indochina doves routinely ignore. In a half-dozen chapters devoted to Vietnam, he notes the infinite pains his Administration took to secure a negotiated agreement with Hanoi—always to no avail. He recounts the numerous occasions on which he and his advisers bowed to doveish demands for ceasefires and bombing halts to prove our good intentions, on the theory that Hanoi would reciprocate. He provides tables showing no less than sixteen bombing halts, nine of them total, and 56 other peace initiatives either proposed or accepted by the United States without affirmative response from the enemy.

The conclusion emerging from all this is that peace in Vietnam as the doves conceive it could have been attained only by surrendering to the Communists outright, and it is this demonstration which has inspired the most vehement criticisms of Johnson's book as of his policy. From this particular vantage point, his discussion makes a great deal more sense than the imaginings of those who say Hanoi was not engaged in aggression, that our actions were responsible for the war, or that the conflict could have been ended by conciliation if we had been willing to try it. The dove analysis is plausible only if one leaves out of account the body of factual material presented by Johnson—which of course is exactly what the doves have been doing for the past five years or so.

Another aspect of Johnson's Vietnam discussion, however, suggests an entirely different type of criticism. He makes it clear throughout that decisive efforts to use our military and economic strength effectively were overruled because such actions were deemed "pro-

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vocative" to Moscow and Red China. Our Vietnam policy was "gradual," "limited," "restrained" etc., because discussion of that policy took place in the context of a global strategy aimed at conciliating the major Communist powers. Vietnam was a hopeless strategic muddle—a war conducted against a proxy regime whose principals were either ignored or treated as objects of affable coexistence.

It was as a result of these confusions that we conducted the war on a "no-win" basis, trafficking with Hanoi's principals, withholding our strategic and economic power, and pouring hundreds of thousands of men into Asia to make up the deficiency. On Johnson's own evidence, it was this "no-win" strategy and not the perception of Communist danger which was mistaken—precisely the opposite of the criticism offered by the doves. Since they are and have been a major source of "no-win" counsel, indeed, the doves bear a heavy responsibility for the bloody treadmill of Vietnam. On this issue if no other, the Johnson book deserves a careful reading. □

A Personal Record: The Labour Government 1964-1970
By Harold Wilson
Atlantic, 836 pp., $15

A BORN DITHERER

TIBOR SZAMUELY

There is a flourishing school of thought in Britain which contends that Harold Wilson was the worst prime minister the country ever had. Although impressed by the force of the evidence, for quite some time I hesitated to pass so emphatic a judgment. No longer. The publication of Wilson's mind-boggling eight hundred-page-long apologia for his premiership dispels any lingering doubts one might once have held.

"Worst" is not the same as "most disastrous." To be really disastrous, to inflict permanent damage to the country's interests, one has to be determined, bold, ruthless, unscrupulous, firm of purpose—in short, to have the combination of qualities possessed, and used to such effect, by Mr. Harold Macmillan.

Harold Wilson possesses none of these qualities. Indeed, it is not easy to discover just what it was that made him such an appallingly bad prime minister. It is not simply that he was a small man—Number 10 Downing Street has been occupied at times by men of no greater stature. Nor is it lack of principle—some of his predecessors were encumbered by even fewer principles than Mr. Wilson. He is no fool—rather, he is what the English call too clever by half. Nor is he lazy—his memoirs record a constant and exhausting whirl of travels, meetings, negotiations, speeches, social engagements. He is by no means a wicked man (as many would regard Macmillan to have been). Neither can one say that he came to office lacking ideas—if anything, he had too many of them.

Harold Wilson's abysmal failure can be explained by two basic features of his makeup. One is weakness of character: he is a born ditherer, constitutionally incapable of making decisions or, having finally been forced to make one, of seeing it through. Secondly, he has an amazing knack for doing everything wrong, from matters of high policy to off-the-cuff statements. His main preoccupation therefore, throughout his premiership as well as in his memoirs, has been wriggling out of the consequences of his own indecision and folly.

No wonder the years 1964-1970 represent a total loss, a hiatus in British political history. To be sure, things got worse for the country, but it was not because the ship of state had been steered in the wrong direction. Simply, there was nobody at the wheel. If the Wilson government is to be judged by conventional standards, it was neither a bad nor a good government: it was no government. No British administration of the recent past engendered as much frenetic activity: none had so little to show for it.

To assess the full measure of Wilson's failure one should recall that he held office for five years and eight months—just seven months less than his last Socialist predecessor, Clement Attlee. The Attlee government represents a major landmark in British history; for good or ill (and a lot of it was for good) it enacted a vast body of far-reaching legislation the sum total of which amounted to a profound social revolution. Any schoolchild can rattle off a long list of Attlee's achievements. But Wilson? Eighteen months after his defeat (on Waterloo Day, 1970) one racks one's brains to recall anything—apart from a series of ludicrous episodes—about the ministry.

Most of these hilarious happenings will probably (and rightly) signify nothing to the non-British reader. The D-Notice affair, the Torrey Canyon adventure, the Great South African Arms Row, the Anguillan caper, the antics of George Brown, and so on and so forth—all good knockabout music-hall stuff, befitting a prime minister who showered honors upon pop singers and TV personalities.

"But what good came of it at last?" as the poet Southey asked, "Why, that I cannot tell, said he; But 'twas a famous victory." The actual achievements of this most hectic administration were meager to the point of nonexistence: devaluation of sterling (the one common feature of all Socialist governments) and the misbegotten introduction of decimal currency. Not quite all though: slippery as he is, Wilson should not be allowed to wriggle out of his responsibility for the Rhodesian mess and for the unbelievable wanton folly with which he almost single-handedly created the present bloody turmoil in Northern Ireland. On second thought, if this latter crisis runs its full nightmarish course I shall have to revise my opinion of Wilson's inability to cause lasting damage to his country and the world. →

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: Dick Wilson's *The Long March* records Mao's escape from Chiang in 1934-1935 (Viking, $8.95). . . . *Confessions of a Stockbroker* by "Brutus" tells about the odd behavior of thirty million Americans who play the market (Little, Brown, $6.95). . . . David Niven calls his autobiography *The Moon's a Balloon* (Putnam, $7.95). . . . Margot Berthold's *A History of World Theatre* is big and heavily illustrated (Ungar, $17.50). . . . Christopher Isherwood writes about his parents in *Kathleen and Frank* (Simon & Schuster, $10).

Girl, 20 is a farce about a hippie nymph by Kingsley Amis (Harcourt, $5.95). From the same house, three novellas by William Golding under the title of *The Scorpion God* ($5.95) and a posthumous novel by Erich Maria Remarque, *Shadows in Paradise* ($6.95). . . . *Washington and Other Memories*, by British diplomat and journalist Sir Arthur Willert, recalls Presidents from TR to FDR (Houghton, $6.95). . . . Gary Null's *The Conspirator Who Saved the Romanoffs* is the latest in the "they really escaped" genre (Prentice-Hall, $6.95).

■ RENAISSANCE MAN. Brandeis Vice President Nathan Perlmutter due out with *A Bias of Reflection: Confessions of an Incipient Old Jew* (Arlington House, $6.95, April). Portions first appeared in *NR*. But *NR* missed out on Mr. Perlmutter's second entry in the spring sweepstakes, *How To Win Money at the Races* (Collier paperback, $1.25, March).

■ FILMS. Director Joseph Losey completes filming of *The Assassination of Trotsky*, with Richard Burton in the title role. Siqueiros refused to let Losey shoot his murals for the flick, which he found too pro-Trotsky. . . . Three films on Mussolini coming up. Producer Joseph Shaftel's has one advantage: the cooperation of Miriam Petacci, sister of the Duce's mistress (who was hanged with him). . . . Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland to play Majorie and Thomas Melville in *Whose Heaven, Whose Earth*. Melvilles are the ex-nun and ex-priest who became part of the Catonsville Nine.

Sidney Lumet directing the screen version of David Merrick's harrowing Broadway hit of a season ago, *Child's Play*. Robert Preston and James Mason will star in the shocker set in a Catholic boys' school. . . . Pier Paolo Pasolini is producer/director of *Canterbury Tales*, featuring Orson Welles. . . . Scott Fitzgerald did a screenplay, *Babylon Revisited*, just before his death. It was never filmed. Now Universal plans to do it as scripted, with Lamont Johnson directing.

But even apart from this Wilson has achieved immortality of a sort. At least two of his phrases have entered the language as the epitome of foolish and dishonest irresponsibility, and are thus assured of a place in any future dictionary of quotations. One is "the pound in your pocket"; the other, "weeks rather than months." The first phrase comes from Wilson's television speech on devaluation day, reassuring his listeners that the purchasing power of the pound would remain unaffected. It didn't, of course, and now Wilson blames the unfortunate sentence on a draft prepared by the Treasury which he was misguided enough to use. The second phrase, uttered in January 1966, referred to the speedy effect of sanctions upon Rhodesia. "We were misled," explains Wilson lamely: he had been given wrong advice.

By long-standing convention the British civil service always remains anonymous; politicians do not lay the blame for their own failures upon civil servants who cannot answer back. But not Wilson. The examples I have quoted are just two of many. One of the most memorable fiascos of his ministry was the "Soames affair" of February 1969, when General de Gaulle suggested secret bipartite talks to Britain with a view of achieving a close understanding on a wide range of matters. Wilson's immediate, instinctive reaction was to inform the Germans. Naturally Britain ended up as the villain of the piece. Now Wilson says that the Foreign Office practically forced him to betray the General's confidence. "I was furious," he concludes. More to the point, so was the General.

And one last vintage Wilsonism, just to get the feeling of the man. When the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war broke out, Wilson condemned India for aggression. It so happens that he was quite right—but the Indian government was exceedingly displeased. So were the influential Indophiles in the Labour Party. Today therefore all is revealed: "I had been taken for a ride by a pro-Pakistani faction in the Commonwealth Relations Office; it did not remain there for long." The last part of the statement is an impudent fabrication. Upon its appearance in the serialized version of Wilson's book a number of distinguished retired officials of the CRO publicly declared that no one had been reprimanded, let alone removed over the deception of which they were now—anonymously—being accused. Wilson, typically, neither challenged the refutation nor changed a word of his text.

That conveys the whole tenor of Wilson's book: a long, sniveling, self-righteous justification of an unbroken record of errors and failures—interspersed with attacks on Edward Heath. Taken purely on its merits as political memoirs the book is lamentable (though, to be fair, it never attains the sheer boredom and unctuous pomposity of Lyndon Johnson's). Harold Wilson, perhaps prudently, does not treat the problems of his premiership topic by topic; what we get is a chronological, day-by-day account, a kind of glorified appointments diary, with completely disconnected events, or fragments of events, jumbled together in one page, even one paragraph. Here is a typical chapter heading: "Ministerial broadcast on devaluation—Conservative misrepresentation—General de Gaulle opposes British entry to the Common Market—problems in the Parliamentary Labour Party—South African arms sales—speech on economic policy—a national rail strike averted—Mr. Holt's funeral—President Johnson and Vietnam—cuts in government spending—party discipline." Every problem under the sun slung into 26 untidy pages.

The most surprising thing about the book is that it was written by someone who is—God help us!—still active in politics and who might, for all we know, become prime minister again. It has been rumored that Mr. Wilson received the better part of $1 million for his memoirs. He has spent part of the money on a rather splendid house in a handsome Westminster street named after Lord North, thus neatly juxtaposing his name with that of his closest competitor in the Worst Prime Minister Stakes. □

M. Stanton Evans *is the editor of the* Indianapolis News. . . . **Tibor Szamuely** *teaches at Reading University in England and is a regular contributor to the* Spectator. . . . **Peter P. Witonski,** *the editor of* The Wisdom of Conservatism, *teaches history at Harvard.*

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Irrational Ravings
By Pete Hamill
Putnam, 408 pp., $7.95

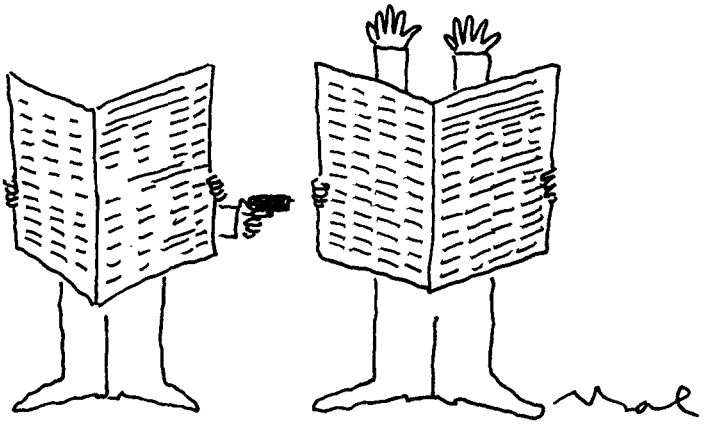
BLEEDING HEART, BOILING BLOOD

C. H. SIMONDS

"I grew up," Pete Hamill notifies us, "in a state of rage." In his early teens, some Rich Kids snickered at him because he came to school on a rainy day with cardboard in his shoes; he laid for one of them that afternoon, beat the living crap out of him, and "ever since, I've been afraid of the murderer who lives in my body." Fortunately for the part of humanity that wasn't born poor, Hamill grew up (violently: he and his father discovered each other the Christmas Eve they jointly beat the l.c. out of two guys in a bar) and wandered into journalism, where he sublimates the urge to kill and maim by writing things like "America the Beautiful: With crumby little mini-John Waynes carrying guns to the woods like surrogate penises" and (of some New Left crazies who hassled Bobby Kennedy) ". . . it was the mob in the pit, screaming, endowed suddenly with an animal quality that reminded me of the conservative audience that had shouted down Nelson Rockefeller four years before in San Francisco" and ". . . the truth is that we are one of the most violent people on earth. Our heroes are Western killers, mass murderers, generals and hoods."

Like all violent men, Hamill is also outrageously sentimental. He writes a column about a kid going off to Vietnam, and bludgeons us in the final sentence: ". . . he's my brother, you see . . ." The Mets win the series: "This was the night to grab a homely girl and kiss her as hard as you could." Che Guevara dies: He "was a Communist, of course, and he helped his friend Fidel turn Cuba into a dreary Russian colony. Yet [Hamill almost always has a "yet" for revolutionaries, murderers and such; never for Rich Kids] of all those brave and erratic young men who made and then betrayed the Cuban revolution, he was the best. . . . *Ola*, Guevara: You were my enemy, but you were the only Communist I ever liked, and you were never a corrupt thug. I'm glad you died, as they used to say, with your boots on. *Vaya con Dios*, soldier. Go with God." I'll stay here and throw up, thanks.

This sort of stuff is *bad*—bad writing, bad thinking. Unfortunately, Hamill got into journalism just when the in thing was the tough-sentimental style of Jimmy Cannon (to whom *Irrational Ravings* is dedicated), with roots going back to a lot of earlier sports writers and Ernest Hemingway. It's a style that leans heavily on overworked metaphors ("his eyes looked as if someone had washed socks in them"; ". . . your tongue feeling as if you spent the night licking pool tables") and those awful maudlin litanies punctuated by connectives, the serial comma having been abolished ("I wonder how many [of the dead in Vietnam] wished in the last minutes of their lives that just once more they could have seen the earth break forth in another spring, or ridden a horse across a mesquite prairie, or walked a great city in a snowfall, or watched the leaves come off the forests in autumn"). It's an easy style, handy for someone who has to crank out three columns a week. Hamill uses it with more taste and restraint than most (cf., for instance, Jimmy Breslin), but still it's a bad style based on a *schlock* self-image, the up-from-the-proletariat tough guy wearing his great big tender heart of gold on his (shirt) sleeve.



HAMILL DID, at least, really come from the working class; he understands the working man, in contrast to those intellectuals who "don't understand his virtues (loyalty, endurance, courage, among others) and see him only through his faults (narrowness, bigotry, the worship of *machismo*, among others)." Well before the hardhat backlash of the spring of 1970, he predicted "The Revolt of the White Lower Middle Class," in an essay that still wants reading. He is no rote liberal: He dismisses "the cowardly bums who shoot at firemen" as being "beyond redemption"; shudders at the crazies in Washington on Moratorium Day 1969, "waving their black flags and their red flags and the flags of countries which stink to the grave"; he suspects Lindsay-style reform politics, because "destroying the political party as buffer between government and citizen and replacing it with a bureaucracy has been a disaster." His column on Frank Sinatra's retirement is interesting in comparison with Garry Wills'. Where Wills condemns Sinatra for not being Frank Zappa, whence his endorsement of Ronald Reagan, Hamill is understanding, suggesting that the "Reagan thing" was prompted by Sinatra's "disgust with the glib contempt that seemed to have become the basic style of so many of the young; the resentment of a self-educated man against people who declared universities to be the enemy." His description of the men who attach themselves to political campaigns (conservative ones too, I can assure him) is a masterpiece of the jaundiced eye:

> The men in Kennedy headquarters were something else. All the younger guys seemed to have been pressed from the same mold at the Rent-a-Volunteer-with-Pragmatic-Compassion Works. They wore grey suits on the street, and in the office hiked their shirt sleeves halfway up the forearm, in case a photographer from *Look* dropped by. They all had horn-rimmed glasses. They all had tight law-school mouths. They all smoked thin panatella cigars. And they were all pricks.

But always, rage and violence get in the way. Always there is the old urge for a great big barroom bloodbath. If French rubber planters bribe the Vietcong to leave their plantations alone, why then the Saigon government should shoot them all as collaborators. If a dumb second lieutenant goes berserk and stages a massacre, Hamill won't rest until everybody in the Pentagon,

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Congress and the Administration has been hauled before a war-crimes tribunal. Perhaps everybody in the whole country, for after all, "all of us must sleep tonight in the knowledge that we share in mass murder."

Those Rich Kids are still out there, snickering. "Bloodless corporation men," "the people with long black limousines and fancy rents and credit cards." Nixon—"Is he proving his masculinity at the expense of Asian peasants?" Is Hamill, who in a calmer moment decries "crimes against other human beings . . . needless cruelty or making assumptions about strangers that are based on stereotypes," proving his at the expense of Nixon? Especially, the Richest Kid on the block, the United States—which Hamill loves, but just let anything go wrong. Like the assassination of Robert Kennedy: "Then a pimply messenger arrived from the secret filthy heart of America. . . . We knew then that America had struck again. . . . Kennedy's death would mean nothing. It was just another digit in the great historical pageant that includes the slaughter of Indians, the plundering of Mexico, the enslavement of black people, the humiliation of Puerto Ricans." No way out, America: "Yes, the kid I saw shoot Kennedy was from Jordan, was diseased with some fierce hatred for Jews. . . . The gun that kid carried was American. The city where he shot down a good man was run by Sam Yorty."

Nor does Hamill's own White Lower Middle Class escape, not when he's in a state of perfect rage. "The people shouting filth and abuse [at Father Groppi, when he came to play provocateur at a Wallace rally] were the real America"; "the masses, those cabdrivers, beauticians, steelworkers, ironworkers and construction men, so beautifully romanticized by generations of dreamy socialists, are really an ugly bunch of people." Some of them, some ways, some of the time, Hamill would no doubt add when calmer. Trouble is, there are few calm moments for a journalist pressured by a three-times-a-week deadline. Hamill is worth saving—he is intelligent, honest, undeluded and, often enough, wise. He wrote, not long after the second Kennedy assassination: "I'd like to see America saved, but that's not going to happen until all of us, the left even more than the right, begin to de-escalate our capacity for glib hatreds." Hamill, meet Hamill; and Hamill's bosses, please note. □

The Genius of the West
By Louis Rougier
Nash, 222 pp., $8.50

TOO BROAD A BRUSH

PETER P. WITONSKI

Like many modern historians I have a weakness, bordering on nostalgia, for those sweeping historical surveys which once dominated the field, and which are now very much out of vogue. Of course historians continue to produce surveys, but, by and large, the contemporary, compartmentalized historian lacks both the discipline and the background which are essential for such work. This lamentable fact was brought home to me once again as I began reading Professor Rougier's well-intentioned *The Genius of the West*, a book that I was predisposed to like both because of the author's reputation and Professor Hayek's glowing introduction.

Let me begin by saying that I am very much in sympathy with Rougier. He is spiritually on the side of the angels, and I think that we would agree on most of the basic social and political issues of the day. I also rather like the book's title, which demonstrates that Rougier has his priorities right. Like Schiller, Rougier understands that "*Die Weltgeschichte is das Weltgericht.*" Nevertheless, his book is a bad piece of history, devoid of any real scholarly distinction. Had Rougier confined himself to a less catholic subject, as he did in *L'Erreur de la Démocratie Française* (1962), he might have made a stronger case than he in fact has. The fact that the great F. A. von Hayek is awed by this book does not deter me from criticizing it. Indeed it only suggests to me that Professor Hayek ought to stick to economics and leave history to the historians, lest the public be deceived into thinking that Rougier is doing for the West what Hayek has done for economics.

In order to make his case for Western civilization, Rougier freely distorts history, by omission, misrepresentation and just plain ignorance of the facts. So, when summing up the Middle Ages, he informs us that the great object of that "period" was salvation through the sacraments and support for the Crusades—a revelation that would have stunned both St. Thomas and Frederick II. Since the days of the *Sturm und Drang* romantics, there has been a conservative tendency to utopianize the Middle Ages and to represent them simply as an Age of Faith. This will not do. Spiritually speaking, the Middle Ages were as heterodox as any, with a good share of heretics, atheists and just about anything you might care to mention. We tend to think about times past for the things we most admire in them, but these are not necessarily the things that were most admired in those times. The case of Albertus Magnus provides an excellent example. Today we remember him as a great theologian and pioneer in natural philosophy, but that is not the achievement he was most proud of. Albertus thought his fame would rest upon one thing and one thing only: that he built the best pigpens in medieval Paris.

ON THE OTHER hand, Rougier tells us that the Renaissance sought to secularize and "repaganize" life; that "the rewards and punishments which Dante invoked in *The Divine Comedy* and which Orcagna and Fra Angelico depicted on canvas were regarded with skepticism. . . ." All this is patently absurd, as any specialist in the history of the Renaissance knows. If ever an age was religious it was the Renaissance; if ever a poet was scholastic, it was Dante; and to describe Fra Angelico and Orcagna as being skeptical about that which they depicted is to distort history beyond the bounds of decency.

His discussion of the revival of the Greek language is equally distorted. During the Middle Ages, he informs us, "Greek was not only a strange language but a fearsome one. . . ." It was the Byzantine diplomatist, Manuel Chrysolorus, he claims, who, "in a period of three years . . . taught Florence to read Greek. . . ." The fact that Greek was not unknown during the Middle Ages does not stop Rougier from saying so; and the influence of Chrysolorus, while important, was hardly significant enough to teach Florence Greek. Gemistus Plethon, the Byzantine philosopher, who inspired Cosimo de'Medici with his erudition at the Council of Florence, is not even mentioned as an influence, despite the fact that his ultimate impact, through the Platonic revival, was far greater than that of

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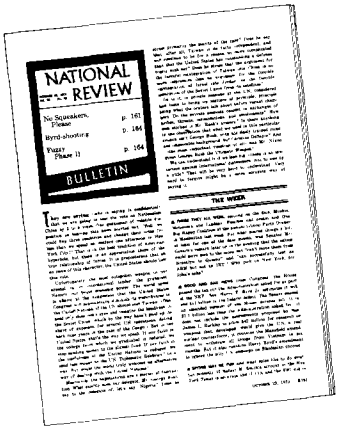

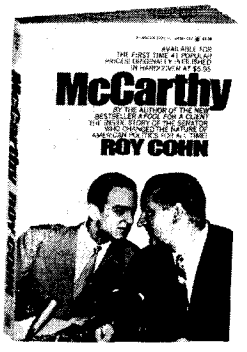

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Chrysolorus. For Rougier, humanism is a philosophy opposed to scholasticism, when in fact it was nothing more than an expanded version of the medieval *trivium*. Ficino, the translator of Plato, is accused of antischolasticism on the basis of his *Theologica Platonica*, which is, in fact, a piece of scholastic theology. His concept of Platonism, which owed more to the *Corpus Hermeticum* than to the actual works of Plato, is presented as being perfectly orthodox.

MUCH OF THIS book is devoted to the history of science, and here too Rougier treats us to a string of inaccuracies and clichés. While not completely ignoring the fact that the Middle Ages produced an interesting scientific tradition, he declares that "the learned Schoolmen of the Middle Ages had condemned [science] as sinful curiosity." The fact that medieval science owed its rigor to such Schoolmen as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon does not seem to interest him. Nor does he mention the influence of such scholastic scientists as Albert of Saxony and Nicholas Oresme on the scientific writing of Leonardo da Vinci, who is wrongly depicted as one of the great scientific *influencers* of the Renaissance (this, despite the fact that Leonardo's scientific work was largely unknown until the nineteenth century).

Rougier sees a great conflict between Christian theology and natural science, and at one point cites the French historian of sciences, Pierre Duhem, out of context, to make his point, without mentioning that Duhem's purpose in writing his eight-volume *Le Système du monde* (1913-1954) was to prove that no such conflict existed. "Modern science," Duhem wrote, "had its origins in the scholastic disputations of the Middle Ages." The *De Revolutionibus* of Copernicus is presented as another example of a scientific work which was incompatible with the theology of its day. Rougier does not mention that Copernicus was supported in his views by many of the learned theologians of his day, Catholic and Lutheran alike. In fact, the work of this Polish Catholic was published on a Lutheran press in Germany with a dedication to Pope Paul III.

The famous introduction by Andreas Osiander, a Protestant theologian, is held up as an example of subterfuge because Osiander noted that Copernicus had merely outlined a hypothesis that was workable while not being necessarily true. Rougier seems not to know that Osiander's views on scientific hypotheses were representative of his day, and not so very far removed from our contemporary approach to cosmological hypotheses. "The only thing required of a hypothesis," he wrote, "is that it offer a method of calculation corresponding to observation. . . ." In short, early science held that there could be any number of valid explanations for a given phenomenon, which is hardly an act of "subterfuge." The conflicts that arose between certain scientists and the Church during the period of the Counter-Reformation were untypical of the general history of science, and no amount of argument can make them typical.

I could go on citing the errors and distortions of this book, for they are legion. Suffice it to say, Rougier has not served himself well. To praise the West, and to hope that its spirit and civilization will survive is something all serious conservatives can do. It is clear from this book that some conservatives can do it better than others. As Hayek writes in his introduction: "Specialists will inevitably find matters to criticize in a book which ventures into so many fields." He himself questions Rougier's interpretation of modern economic history, and this is exactly the point. This book might well impress somebody who was specialized in none of the numerous subjects dealt with by Rougier, i.e., a very poorly educated reader, but good books ought to be made of sterner stuff. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE YELLOW ROOM, *by George Shipway (Doubleday, 278 pp., $5.95).* The dock leader who has brought England to near collapse is blown up, a black power leader falls under a subway train; the autopsy shows he had been shot. A leading industrialist with licit and illicit ties behind the Curtain dies in a fox-hunting accident; a BBC broadcaster has his head blown off in a pheasant drive; three student radical leaders—Communists all—die in an unexplained auto accident. Does England have its Brazil-type death squads, the press asks? Scene shifts. We're in the Yellow Room of the Chilian Club, a slowly decaying London club for retired army officers—most of them cavalrymen—and General Sir Henry Mornay has just commented regretfully to Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Mayne-Amaury that they'll have to forget about that red MP. Something's come up. It's the PM. He's about to sell Britain's new superweapon to the Russians. And the four elderly army officers with nothing to lose but their lives and everything to gain for their country and who have voluntarily re-enlisted in Her Majesty's Service (Her Majesty all unknowing) prepare to add the Prime Minister of Great Britain to their extermination list. It's the *Kind Hearts and Coronets* of spy stories, handled with that special British understatement that makes the ensuing derring-do all the more titillating as the quartet of distinguished white-haired gentlemen in dark suits, bowlers and rolled umbrellas do the rascals in. When it's over we leave them in the Yellow Room, glasses in hand gazing drowsily into the fire. "A candle pops and gutters. The clock ticks restfully. Cinders settle in the grate. Mornay says dreamily, 'A pity we never got that red MP. I wonder. . . .'" This reader hopes.

P. L. BUCKLEY

A SORT OF LIFE, *by Graham Greene (Simon & Schuster, 220 pages, $6.95).* Stopping his book decades before he confessed to being "an admirer of the Soviet Union and of the Communist system," and summed up in one word—"America"—what he most loathed, Graham Greene tells charmingly of his life until just after the appearance of his first published novel. In an off-hand manner especially pleasing in this sort of casual, semi-impressionistic autobiography, Mr. Greene writes of his childhood with his schoolmaster father and the rest of a sprawling family; of his early sexual awakening; of his psychoanalysis—"an astonishing thing in 1920"; and of many other incidents in the first half of an extraordinarily active life. He skips quickly past his conversion to Catholicism, barely mentioning its motivation or effects, and he is almost maddeningly vague about his adult romances and marriage. But the descriptions of his boyhood days are superb, first-rate Greene, and from them we gain a valuable insight into the torments of a sensitive boy, strangling in school, who much preferred to wander in the fields. Generally holding back from making final judgments about crucial episodes in his life, Greene can write: "My life with [his psychoanalyist] did me a world of good, but how much was due to the analysis and how much to the breakfasts in bed, the quiet of Kensington Gardens, the sudden independence of my life I would not like to say, nor whether the analysis went deep enough." In any case, as Freud wrote, "much is won if we succeed in transforming hysterical misery into common unhappiness." Surely Greene has done at least that. Though short on humor, the touches of wit are appealing. For instance, in writing of the death, at age 91 of a favorite uncle: "The first sign of his approaching end was when my old aunts while undressing him removed a toe with his socks." For appreciators of Graham Greene's novels, *A Sort of Life* is required reading.

D. J. C. BRUDNOY

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Arts & Manners

FILM

DAVID BRUDNOY

El Monstroso

Surely the most nausea-inducing flick in town is *El Topo* (The Mole), made by and starring the Chilean-Russian, Mexican-born Alexandro Jodorowsky. Señor Jodorowsky is brilliantly creative, a south-of-the-border Fellini. He is also, if this is conceivable, even more pretentious than the Fellini of *Satyricon*. Sr. Jodorowsky's film, which the *New Yorker*'s Pauline Kael aptly labeled a "head film," tells, sort of, about an avenger dressed in black cowboy drag, riding with his naked seven-year-old son into the Mexican desert for a *rite de passage*. After which, they happen upon a village drowning in the blood of all its people and beasts, who have been hideously slain by four comic (sic) bandits. El Topo and Son track down the villians, who've been annihilating another town and sodomizing the young priests, there dispatching the top-bandit by castration and leaving his lieutenants to the villagers' ingenuity.

Abandoning the boy with the words, "Never trust anybody," El Topo rides off with the head bandit's woman in due course slaughtering four desert holy men in four elaborate, nearly unendurable scenes of trickery and savagery. Our Hero is then murdered by a gorgeous dyke who has joined him and his woman. As El Topo dies of stigmata wounds (verrry symbolic), the lesbian and the other girl kiss and, I guess, ride off into the sunset.

There's more. El Topo is rescued (from death? Unclear) by a band of grotesques (dwarfs, cripples, pinheads). Some twenty years later, he awakes to find himself the god of a whole nation of these deformed creatures, who are imprisoned in a mountain. Topo has been, what can I say, resurrected as a Christ. He falls in love with a dwarfess and vows to save the trapped people, descending to the town below—a muddled image of materialistic, slave-trading, sexually perverted Western Decadence—where he and his little woman become clowns to earn pesos to buy dynamite to blast a hole in the mountain wherein are trapped the pitiables, so that the latter can escape and join "civilization." All this transpires with the aid of—did you guess?—Topo's son, now a priest. But when the poor pathetics (and they are not made-up pathetics, but the real thing) are freed, they hobble into town and are slaughtered. El Topo cannot save *them*, but the wicked townsfolks' bullets cannot kill *him*. Then, like that monk in Saigon, he ignites himself and expires, while his son, his little widow, and his new baby ride off.

NOTHING I WRITE can picture *El Topo*'s carnage, its unremitting visual horror. How can I actually be sitting here for two hours watching people butchered, I asked myself as I sat there watching. I stayed hoping to find meaning. I found it all right. *Meaning* in bucketsful, *meaning* as profuse as the blood and guts; *meaning* splashed around as wantonly as the sadism by which Jodorowsky is trying, let's be charitable, to tell us something. Religious symbols, pseudoreligious symbols, parables, headjokes, over-arch décor, ominous Lessons To Be Learned, sickening murder (the lady in the seat next to me vomited and ran choking from the theater): El Grotesque-o. El Unforgivable Trasho.

It is not the theme that repels. Symbolic movies can be made, and made well. And violence per se is not objectionable in films. The combination, however, of unfathomable symbology and unending gore, which *El Topo* offers to the dedicated gaggle of aficionados that has made it *the* underground rage and yanked it aboveground into theaters throughout the land, *is* objectionable. To me, it's worse than objectionable; it frightens the daylights out of me. What on earth is cinema coming to? And cinema audiences?

BRIEFLY: That film violence is not at issue is revealed by *The French Connection*, which is violent but, forgive me, relevantly violent. This grade-A thriller about Manhattan cops (Gene Hackman and Roy Scheider) tracking down a French heroin smuggler (Fernando Rey) and his American contacts (including Tony Lo Bianco, who did so well to unnerve everybody in *Honeymoon Killers*) is replete with mayhem. But it is an unqualifiedly excellent movie, containing the best chase scene since Keystone Cops days. It portrays cops as quite human, somewhat bigoted, very dedicated public servants doing their job, and it does this with a no-nonsense grasp of what good movie entertainment can be. ¶ And again demonstrating that theme is not my criterion, but execution is: *Murmur of the Heart*, nouvelle-vague director Louis Malle's comedy about mother love—for real. It is sophisticated and amusing; *not* advocacy, not a symptom of the decline of Western civilization; just a silly, happy little flick about a literally ravishing mother (Lea Massari) and her precocious teen-aged son. I'll take all the gore in *French Connection* and all the incest in *Murmur* six times a week, and twice on Sundays, before I'll sit through another Great Art Film like *El Topo*. Happy 1972. □

ART

RUTH BERENSON

Dullsville No More

Whether or not you're in favor of government subsidies for art, it's a fact that Washington's cultural institutions, supported wholly or in part by federal handouts, are helping the city to shed its image as Dullsville-on-the-Potomac. No longer need frustrated devotées of culture rush up to New York for a taste of music, dance, theater, art; there's enough going on at home to keep them busy.

Although the brand-new Kennedy

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Center is, to put it briefly, an unmitigated architectural disaster, Washingtonians are so glad it's finally there and in business that they overlook its massive ugliness, its scandalously high prices (on a par with those at New York's Lincoln Center) and the incredible tourist vandalism which, in the few weeks since its opening, has stripped away nearly everything portable, from the pink marble faucet-tops in the ladies' rooms to the strings of cut glass on the light fixtures. As a showcase for the performing arts, the Center, with its clear sightlines and fine acoustics, fulfills its purpose—and to hitherto culturally deprived civil servants, that's what matters.

Federal money is what keeps the Kennedy Center, as well as most of Washington's many museums, going. Even the National Gallery, which owes its collections, considered by many to surpass the Metropolitan's, to the generosity of private donors, is, like the Center, part of the vast Smithsonian complex, which pays for salaries and maintenance. Among others similarly indebted are the National Museum of Science and Technology, the Freer Gallery (specializing in Oriental art) and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (for modern art) now rising next to the Smithsonian's original red brick castle on the Mall. Two more Smithsonian progeny, the National Portrait Gallery and the National Collection of Fine Arts, which occupy the recently restored Victorian patent office are even more dependent on government largesse since they are too new to have attracted much private help.

A recent visit to the last-named pair convinced me that both are spending our hard-earned tax dollars intelligently. They're fun; they're also educational in the best sense of that much-abused word. While their contents are of varying aesthetic merit, they will interest art and history buffs alike; their installations are attractive and unpretentious and their temporary shows, at least those I saw, are first-rate.

ESPECIALLY entrancing was the Portrait Gallery's survey of two hundred years of the American stage—an assemblage of paintings, posters, costumes and memorabilia beginning in 1771 when that many-sided artist and entrepreneur, Charles Willson Peale, portrayed the English actress, Nancy Hallan, daringly disguised as a boy in the role of Imogen in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, it ends with a vivid oversized sculptured head of the late rock star, Jimi Hendrix, by Jack Gregory. In between are works by artists famous and forgotten, some fine, some mediocre, but all wonderfully evocative of the glamor of the theater.

At the National Collection of Fine Arts an entire floor had been given over to a rediscovery of major importance, the black painter William H. Johnson (1901-1970). Johnson was by no means unknown in the 1930s and 1940s, but during his last twenty years he was in a state hospital, hopelessly insane from paresis and totally forgotten as an artist. This tragedy is the more poignant because it is his late work, the pictures he painted just before the onset of his illness, that shows

his fully realized talent. Johnson was lucky enough, while still in his teens, to earn enough money to attend the National Academy of Design in New York, where Charles W. Hawthorne, an able teacher, became his mentor. With Hawthorne's aid, Johnson went to Europe in 1926 and plunged headlong into modern art. Not until his final return to America in 1938 did Johnson hit on a subject matter—his own memories of the rural South—and a new, consciously primitivist style that enabled him, as he said, "to give, in a simple and stark form, the story of the Negro as he existed." It is for these brilliant canvases, bequeathed to the National Collection by the Harmon Foundation (which fostered Johnson's career and did so much for American black artists before it was liquidated last year) that Johnson deserves a prominent and permanent place in the history of American art.

Unlike the museums we have been talking about, the Corcoran Gallery of Art, a venerable institution only a year younger that the Metropolitan, has remained wholly in private hands and suffers in consequence: Its once bright marbled halls are dingy, its paint is peeling and often galleries must be closed off for lack of money to pay guards. This year, however, the National Endowment for the Arts gave it a shot in the arm by choosing it as the showcase for "Wilderness," first in a series of four exhibitions with the overall title, "The American Art Heritage," which it is mounting for the Bicentennial celebrations. The spectacular installation of "Wilderness" attracted as much, if not more, attention than its contents. Douglas MacAgy, Director of Exhibits for the National Endowment, plunged the Corcoran's Beaux-Arts entrance hall into darkness and directed glaring spotlights at super-sized landscapes by the nineteenth-century American painters Bierstadt and Church, hung high between the marble columns of the central court. Constantly changing color-slides of magnified natural details—woodland glens, desert sands, tropical pools, cacti, garbage dumps, rivers clean and polluted—were projected on the walls around the court, to the accompaniment of a sound track reproducing the patter of rain, the rumble of thunder, bird calls, animal cries and so on. A simulated waterfall (filmed, but amazingly wet-looking) cascaded over the grand staircase.

In the galleries proper were hung (in more or less orthodox if seemingly haphazard fashion) paintings and photographs, many of exceptional quality and often unfamiliar to all but specialists, illustrating the purity of the American wilderness in its pristine state and —predictably—its man-made despoliation. Only the simulated odor of violets or the stench of skunks was missing. Still, the assault on the senses was pretty stupefying, so much so that the art got lost; you couldn't, as it were, see the forest for the trees. The public, in Washington as elsewhere, loves show biz, and "Wilderness" attracted record audiences, but I wonder whether most visitors remember it for its paintings or as a highbrow three-D, three-ring circus. The show is expected to travel all over the country starting in the fall of 1972, so you may have a chance to decide for yourself whether the National Endowment for the Arts (which is spending your money) is serving you —and, in this instance, art—well. □

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DELECTATIONS

ALEC WAUGH

Happy Birthday!

On the second Thursday in July I started my 74th year. In nursery days my parents used to say to me: "Today you can do anything you like." Even then I knew that such a promise was too permissive for fulfillment. I learnt to compromise with necessity, deciding that the most I could expect was a full day in which I did not do a single thing I did not want. In terms of that compromise, my 73rd birthday was my best.

I spent it at Château Saran, which the great Champagne house of Moët et Chandon maintains a few miles from Epernay for the entertainment of its friends and clients. I had been there before, in 1958 and 1969, and had already been taken through the long subterranean galleries cut in chalk where the most companionable of wines is made and stored.

I had also on those two earlier visits been taken to Rheims—as much the home of Champagne as Epernay, and to the Abbey at Hautvillers where Dom Pérignon evolved out of his own instincts the art of blending. I had enormously enjoyed myself and when a third invitation coincided with my leasing through the early summer of a flat in Paris, I naturally chose the eighth of July for the excursion.

I was collected soon after breakfast. It was the hottest morning in a heat wave, the thermometer touched 30° (86°F.) on the day before and as we drove through the historic countryside of the Marne with its memories of 1914 and the troops rushed out in Paris taxicabs for its protection, I savored in advance the chill and prickle of that first sparkling glassful. In 1969 I had been welcomed by a '64. Would the '66 for which a similar supremacy had been prophesied be ready yet? But my hosts had for me instead a flattering surprise. "As it is your birthday," they said, "we are going to open a bottle for which the grapes were gathered in your natal year, 1898."

A wine 73 years old. I was astonished, I was excited, yet I could not believe that so old a wine would have retained the least flicker of vitality. 1898 happened to be one of Moët's greatest vintages. It had been shipped for Edward VII's coronation in 1902.

I awaited its opening avidly. To my relief as to my surprise, the cork was released with an appropriate explosion, but there was no foaming at the mouth. With mounting curiosity, I watched my hostess tilt the bottle. I had been afraid of the wine being *madérisé*, but though the color was deeper than is usual it was no darker than a heavy Hock. The wine sparkled in the glass, but there was no real prickle on the tongue; it was scarcely more *pétillant* than a Vouvray. I should not indeed have recognized it as Champagne, and though after the long hot journey it was pleasantly refreshing, the aftertaste of the second sip was sour. I didn't ask for a second glass. I was prepared to wait for the young wine that I knew would be served in the general company in a few minutes' time. Yet the opening of that very special bottle made the whole thing an occasion.

It was a '64 that was presented as an aperitif. The '66 was not ready yet. They would be breaking into that, they explained, in September. There were some twenty glasses on the low table in the anteroom, besides a couple of glistening magnums. I remembered one of Hemingway's characters in *The Sun Also Rises* complaining that although the wine was better in a magnum it took longer to cool. This wine was at exactly the right temperature, chilled but not frozen.

I HAVE drunk Moët '64 whenever I have had a chance since my last visit to the Château. I was as delighted as ever

by its fragrant life-giving liveliness and I was glad that we were allowed time to drink two glasses before the screen dividing the anteroom from the dining room was drawn away.

Eighteen places were laid. There were three glasses before each place, two medium-sized wine glasses and a water glass. The wine glasses were to be replenished with the local red and white *vins de table*, the water glass was reserved for the current Champagne. A certain formality attends the meals at Château Saran. There is an official hostess, usually a lady of title. This time it was the wife of a former British ambassador to Morocco whom I had met several times in Tangier. Her presence was another surprise and a very pleasant one. The meal without being elaborate was definitely "gourmet," and to encourage the guests the hostess' contract stipulates that she must take a second helping of every course. Even so the meals are served quickly; there is no loitering at the table. Within seventy minutes we were back in the anteroom for coffee and liqueurs, and the hostess was making arrangements for the afternoon excursions—around the cellars or to Rheims or to the Abbey at Hautvillers.

It was very hot and there was nothing I could be shown that I had not already seen. It was my birthday. Why should I do anything I did not want to do? There were a number of long chairs on a shaded corner of the terrace; why not sit out there while the long day cooled, until a gentle stroll in the garden could quicken my appetite and thirst for dinner?

IT WAS the next two hours that in the last analysis made my 73rd birthday so happy. It was a cloudless, windless day. No sound came from the vineyards. The grapes were slowly ripening in the sun. In two months those gentle slopes would be vibrant with activity, but now all was quiet. There was no sign of human action. I had brought a book with me, but I let it fall forward on my knees. It was pleasant to sit and brood over the happiness that Champagne had brought me, and of how that happiness had deepened with the years. Most physical pleasures weaken as the years recede. I do not take the same pleasure that I did in the robust wines of the Rhône, but the lightness and youthfulness of Champagne is as much a delight as ever.

And the peace of my brooding was increased by the information I had received that morning that the quality of my delight is unlikely to be diminished in the years ahead. Today the great wines have become scarce and fabulously expensive. But there is still no lack of great Champagne, and my hosts assured me that the present output can be increased. That assurance as much as anything made perfect that slow passing afternoon. As long as my health lasts I shall have Champagne as my support and solace. How happy that knowledge made my brooding. In an uncertain world of that one thing I can be sure. □

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HAZLITT

(Continued from page 45)

ual freedom for which there was never any justification in the first place. Now that our government has suspended dollar convertibility altogether, even the original excuse for it has disappeared.

Important practical gains would follow immediately from the restoration of the right to own gold. American citizens would have a major way, now forbidden, of protecting their savings against the practically certain further erosion in the value of the irredeemable paper dollar. A really free gold market would exist here and abroad. Gold would become not only an international money of account but a de facto international currency, whether it was "monetized" or not. And long-term contracts, domestic and international, would increasingly be written in terms of gold until national currencies could once more be trusted. □

WUNDT

(Continued from page 41)

worn myth of the Authoritarian Personality and the stale stereotype of the hard-hearted, unsocial conservative—though hardly what the author foolishly or deceptively suggests. As I read these results, they say:

1. If you are a white victim, you can expect more help from conservatives than from liberals, because conservatives are more sympathetic and responsible than liberals.

2. If you are black, you will fare no worse with a conservative who listens to you than with a liberal—and it will be easier to get a conservative to listen.

3. Whatever color you may be, if you pry the lid off CUNY and other similar establishments, you will see why Brand X (conservatism) never tests out ahead of Old Snake Oil (liberalism) no matter what the figures may say. □

CLARK

(Continued from page 44)

aid be withheld from countries to the extent that they spend money on arms. It is true that it is possible for a country to spend too much on arms. Many of the developing countries, particularly in Africa, may be guilty of the opposite fault, of spending too little, and leaving their countries virtually defenseless. Making adequate provision for their country's defense is the gravest of all responsibilities to fall on the leaders of countries which have newly become independent. A country with obviously inadequate defenses may itself become a provocation to invasion and war.

Barbara Ward's final statement is that no country will receive her approval unless 30 to 40 per cent of its national product takes the form of government expenditure. She could not make clearer the extent of her irrational preconceptions. □

LETTERS

(Continued from page 12)

to wit, that prosecutors in the military should be part of the U.S. Attorney General's staff.

To the extent laxity in military justice is not caused by the general bias at this time against all things military, it is primarily the result of a judicial system whose personnel are appended to but are not part of the military forces. Lack of familiarity with combat conditions also makes lawyers hesitant to assert their judgment as to the dividing line between an imperative act of war and a war crime. Substitution of prosecutors from the U.S. Attorney General's staff would only increase the cleavage between the military justice system and line officers.

The remedy for laxity in military justice is the full integration of officer lawyers into the military system. (This judgment is derived from my experience as a former officer and prosecutor in the U.S. Marine Corps.) The Marine Corps has fully integrated its lawyers into its military operations and it has not suffered from judicial laxity. A Marine lawyer receives the same training as all Marine officers. For three months he learns to be a rifleman and, if commissioned, he attends the Basic School for six months learning to be a rifle platoon commander.

The Army lawyer's training is centered at the Judge Advocate General's School. He becomes a specialist, like a dentist, who is primarily concerned with the technicalities of his trade. The Army lawyer will generally be assigned to various legal staff billets until retirement. The Marine lawyer, on the other hand, will be shifted between legal staff and command billets.

The difference in training and career planning for Marine and Army lawyers produces two very different legal animals. The Marine lawyer views an infraction of discipline as a rifleman views rust in his chamber—something to be eliminated as an impediment to survival. The Army lawyer is likely to view the same infraction as the source of an interesting legal question, a cornucopia of fine distinctions.

Trouble in a military justice system begins when undue sympathy is extended to those accused of minor offenses. When a legal system undermines an officer's authority to enforce the dress code in the barracks, it undermines his authority to

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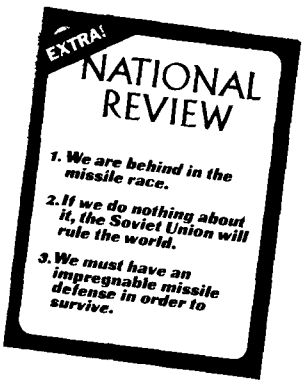
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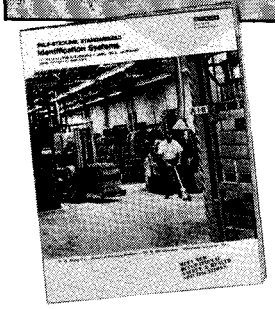

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command troops in the field. Prosecutors and defense counsels who are military officers first and lawyers second are less likely to lose sight of the mission of the military justice system: to support a combat organization.

Birmingham, Ala. CARL H. MIDDLETON

Liturgical Reform

I disapprove of a long series of comments in *NR* on liturgical reform, most recently an editorial entitled "Liturgical Mess" [Oct. 22] and an article by Douglas Brown ["New Defenders of the Old Mass," Nov. 5]. The editorial states that the Episcopal Prayer Book is a literary masterpiece, deplorably interred in the name of Old Demon Relevance. Mr. Brown mourns the "Roman Mass, as we used to regard it, . . . an art form intended to express, in perpetuity, the ineffable mystery of the Redemption. . . . The new order of the Mass . . . is not only deprived of any overriding ceremonial pattern, but has to be said aloud, often in a pathetically inadequate translation from the Latin, with the congregation constrained to take an active part." Mr. Brown winds up by bringing in Romanesque, Gothic, Baroque, Giotto, Michelangelo, Rubens, plainsong, polyphony, Monteverdi and Verdi.

By now the more perceptive ought to begin to exclaim: "Aesthetics is not the point!" Liturgical practice should appeal to our sense of beauty. But the latter is not, *must not*, be *the* criterion of what form the liturgy will take. The main question has to be: "What *is* the Eucharist; what is the central act of Christian worship all about, so that we can express its meaning as adequately as possible, through action and the spoken and sung word?"

The answer is that Eucharistic worship is the action of *all* the people incorporated into Christ. *Because* they are baptized into his death and resurrection, they have the right and the duty to offer his Sacrifice and share at his Table. The Eucharistic action—the Mass—belongs to the entire Church. This is simple, basic, unchanging Christian doctrine, to be found, *inter alia multa*, in Pius XII's *Mediator Dei*, issued before Pope John was even a cardinal.

The *Church* and not Mr. Brown's "faceless hatchetmen" came to see that the Tridentine Mass obstructed the people's joining in on what was *their* act of worship, because, first, it was not in their own language, and, second, even if it were, its ceremonial—for a variety of reasons—blurred the significance of what was going on and who was doing it. (It is very much the same with the Book of Common Prayer, with more emphasis on the theological objections and less on the linguistic. As the revered Anglican liturgical scholar Dom Gregory Dix showed in *The Shape of the Liturgy* the Prayer Book's Communion rite did not express the true Christian doctrine of the Eucharist but rather the narrow Zwinglianism of Thomas Cranmer.

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On top of which, despite the vernacular, it minimized the function of the laity in the same way as the Tridentine Latin Mass.)

Furthermore, I simply cannot agree with Mr. Brown that the "precise ceremonies" of the Tridentine Mass were more aesthetically satisfying than the New Order. In fact, 1) there *are* ceremonial directives in the New Order; they are less minute than the rubrics of the Tridentine Mass and so eliminate dozens of gestures that, in the hands of a careless and haphazard celebrant, looked just plain ridiculous; 2) more to the point, the New Order much more sharply outlines what is happening—the proclamation of the Word at the lectern and the celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Banquet at the altar table.

There are at least two ironies in this whole business. You would never know it from Mr. Brown, but the New Order of the Mass still leaves open opportunities to perform a good deal of the older music during the Eucharistic celebration. Not all, to be sure; the works of certain of the masters were, let's face it, just what Mr. Brown deplores their being considered—concert pieces.

Irony Number Two resides in the implication that beautiful music and language are beyond the capabilities of twentieth-century Americans and Englishmen. I find that hard to understand in the pages of a magazine which has made memorable use of the services of, among others, Evelyn Waugh and Whittaker Chambers.

There *is* beauty in the New Order of the Mass, in its actions and wording (even though, if my advice were asked, I would make a few minor changes). I find in it a clarity which helps me, and I devoutly hope the people who join with me, to grasp the wonder of the saving action we perform. And I find it a challenge: Not being able to hide behind a dead language, I must *strive* to express the sacred mystery by word and act and assist the people to do so; in some vague way I have the sensation that, away from the altar, the efforts I make there are prodding me a little more strongly to *live* in accordance with that mystery. I regard the New Order of the Mass as a grace.

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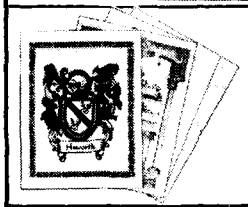

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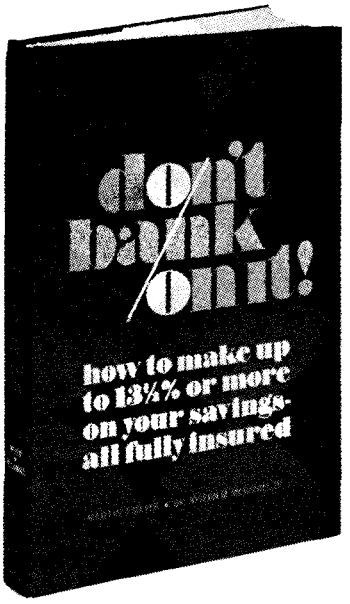
Martin J. Meyer is president of the National Depositors Cooperative Association. He also serves as Vice President and Secretary of Intercept Tele-Communications, Inc., a new international cable and telegraphic interception and forwarding organization. Mr. Meyer has written numerous magazine articles on banking, thrift, and inflation.

Dr. Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., recently elected President of the World Health Organization, was Secretary of the Ford Foundation from 1953 until his retirement in 1967 and Dean of the School of Commerce at Northwestern University. His distinguished career includes government service with the Economic Cooperative Association.



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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

The Economics of Professor Ho

New York, Jan. 8—There is a lot of economic ignorance in the world, and most of it is in the academy, where professors and students believe things about economics which are on the level of believing that the moon is made out of green cheese. What is surprising is when people of such limited understanding impose themselves on the general community quite obviously expecting that they will be taken seriously.

For instance, one Ping-ti Ho, who is described as a "University of Chicago professor of history and Far Eastern languages and civilizations," just back from Mainland China which he left in 1945 in order to become an American citizen. Professor Ho treats Mao's China, in his articles in the *Chicago Tribune* (the *Chicago Tribune*!) like the Emerald City of Oz. To use his words, ". . . what China has achieved in the last 22 years may already be the envy of the Third World."

Herewith a little bit of analysis which should make the anthologies of economic solecism, with which Professor Ho launches his series. In China, food is very cheap. "I purposely took some of my meals in the extremely crowded backlane restaurants of Shanghai and other large cities. A northern Chinese style breakfast or lunch which would cost me at least $2 in New York or Chicago cost me only 7 to 15 cents in China. Because restaurants are owned and operated by the state, they do not make profits. Meal prices are therefore extremely low." One wonders how the professor of history would greet a student paper which said: "Because of the Mississippi Bubble, Napoleon lost the battle of Waterloo." The latter is closer to the fact than the former. Approximately 6 per cent of the gross of the restaurant business in the United States is profit.

And anyway, how could China get to feed its people, if it charged more than 15 cents per meal? The average wage for a Chinese who works in a city is $25 per month. At 15 cents per meal for himself alone, three meals a day, he has spent over one-half his salary. If his wife is to eat also, that's $27 for the two of them, or more than he earns, never mind the children—how are *they* going to eat?

In the fairyland described by Professor Ho, it takes more than one year's salary to buy a wristwatch. As for all that food, rice is still rationed, as is meat and even cooking oil. Only vegetables and fish are not. The country that Professor Ho lists as the marvel of the Third World lets its citizens buy eighteen feet of cloth goods per year. Per year. A wash cloth counts as one foot. Eighty-five per cent of the working population is engaged in the production of food, and China has had to import food.

In the United States, where farmers do indeed insist on making profit, 12 per cent of the working population produces a gross excess of food. The Japanese, studying all available figures, calculate that the per capita income of the Mainland Chinese is eighty dollars. The per capita income of the Taiwanese is three hundred dollars. The per capita income of the Japanese is in excess of twelve hundred dollars. The envy of the Third World indeed!

So it goes. American scholars *will be* brainwashed. They insist on it. The other day, at a lecture at Oakland University in Michigan, a student rose to inform me about what American capitalists had done in Argentina. First, said he, American companies in general are paying Argentine labor one-fourth as much as they pay American labor. Secondly, they are trying out experimental drugs on Argentine citizens, on the theory that killing odd Argentinians, in order to develop profit-making drugs, is perfectly okay.

Well, I said, American companies in Argentina pay what they have to pay to get labor, the lower the better. If American companies can desert Maine and go to South Carolina in order to reduce the cost of their product, and make it available cheaper to the consumer, why shouldn't American firms go to Argentina to do the same thing? As for the drug companies, I said, the chances are against the story's being true, for the simple reason that major pharmaceutical companies would get a rather bad press if it were known that they were engaged in killing innocent Argentinians.

But you can just see Professor Ho nodding his head, when somebody tells him the one about Argentina, and making a note to include that in his next series for the *Chicago Tribune*. □

REAGAN AND NIXON

New York, Dec. 28—*Newsweek* carried in a recent issue a strangely malevolent story at the expense of Ronald Reagan, Governor of California, the thrust of which is that Reagan is a failure as governor, and that for that reason he has, more or less, thrown himself on the mercies of Richard Nixon.

The writer goes through the usual ritual. Reagan's popularity in the polls is down. That is about as meaningful as the fading of the leaves in the fall and the ripening buds of spring. A politician's popularity almost always goes down in midterm, particularly during a second term of office. And in California, where everything is done on an exaggerated scale, from Disneyland to welfare, there is a noisome political situation, a Democratically controlled legislature dominated by an ambitious speaker who let the legislature go before appropriating the money necessary to balance the state budget. Reagan recalled the legislature, and a tax bill went through.

Then, *Newsweek* charges, there is the tarnished image of Governor Reagan who promised that if elected, all the birdies would go tweet tweet tweet. It is true that state costs have risen under Governor Reagan, though only—by contrast—by a small percentage of the rise of the cost of government of Mayor Lindsay, who promised a $300-million reduction in the cost of government, and proceeded to double it.

But Reagan has concentrated, increasingly, on what is benignly called the welfare mess, and alone has succeeded in making real progress. There are, under his reforms, 140,000 fewer persons in California receiving welfare

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than last March, notwithstanding that he has had to wrestle with Washington-directed bureaucrats who are fighting for the right of everyone conceivable to live at other people's expense.

The disparagement of Ronald Reagan is, of course, an ideological imperative for those who are dismayed by his questioning of the precepts of contemporary liberalism. But the case against Reagan runs into altogether imaginary rocks when based on his situation in the contemporary political scene.

"What really irritates Reagan," *Newsweek* reports, "is the recurring rumor that President Nixon no longer really trusts him. His staff is quick to guarantee that Mr. Nixon has no better friend than the governor—which probably provides a clue to Reagan's plans for the future. There are hints that he might see a cabinet post or ambassadorship or perhaps oppose Senator Alan Cranston in 1974, though he insists that he is not interested in the Vice Presidency."

The ignorance of the entire paragraph is suggested by the final phrase. If Ronald Reagan were interested in the Vice Presidency, he would have to be interested in the repeal of the United States Constitution, which specifies that the electoral vote of any given state cannot go to a ticket whose Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates both come from that same state.

"The fact is," says *Newsweek*, "that, unlike in 1968, Reagan now needs Mr. Nixon more than Mr. Nixon needs him.

THE FACT IS that that is exactly reversed. Reagan is not running for political office in 1972. Nixon is. And Nixon cannot win the state of California without the enthusiastic endorsement of Ronald Reagan who, however his constituency is reduced by the vicissitudes of California politics, dominates voters without whom Mr. Nixon is bereft of California. Or put another way, imagine a situation in which Reagan treated Nixon the way Rockefeller treated Goldwater in 1964. . . .

Reagan needs Nixon in a subtle way, unperceived by the opaque treatment of him in *Newsweek*. He needs the Federal Government to give him a chance to effect reforms in California, free of heavy interference by federal agencies, particularly the HEW. The personal insinuations—that Reagan needs Nixon because he wants to be a cabinet member or an ambassador or a Swiss guard—are unreal.

If Reagan wants to be a senator, he'll fight a primary, and the White House is not going to damage him. If he wants to be an ambassador, which is unlikely, it is at best a velleity, hardly the kind of thing for which he would be willing to swap his national constituency, which belongs to him in virtue of his steadfast identification with conservative principle. □

THE CONSERVATIVES AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

New York, Jan. 6—When Senator Barry Goldwater was asked to comment on the prospective entry in the New Hampshire primary of a Republican conservative, he used the kind of language people used to use when contemplating the entry of Barry Goldwater in the Presidential race of 1964. The idea of opposing Mr. Nixon from the Right, said Senator Goldwater, is a threat "to the entire party, the entire country, the entire free world and freedom itself."

The statement bears analysis. It is most easily interpreted as anti-extremist in its implications. I.e., it is understood as cold water thrown on an insurgency from the right wing aimed at unsettling the hold Richard Nixon has on the Republican Party. As such, the disavowal is applauded by the Republican Establishment, and indeed by the Establishment in general.

On the other hand, a close examination of Senator Goldwater's remarks can hardly commend them to Democrats and independents. What Senator Goldwater said is that unless Mr. Nixon is re-elected, we may see an end to the Republican Party, to the United States of America, to the free world and to freedom itself.

Now if that is true—i.e., if the fate of the world hangs on so slender a thread as the re-election of Richard Nixon—we are entitled to ask: Why? And, more specifically, entitled to ask what has Senator Goldwater done to prevent such a development? If the assertion of an independent conservative voice in the New Hampshire primary is a domino which could collapse Nixon's chances for re-election leaving us at the mercy of a Democratic President, whose election would knock over the succeeding domino, letting us drop into the abyss: then, of course, we would need to know how it is that we got that way, and why Senator Goldwater and other conservatives haven't been warning us with Catonic insistence that that is the direction toward which we have been headed. Indeed, Richard Nixon is the principal witness at this great inquest. If things have become so dangerous, why did it all happen during a Nixon Presidency?

Because Congress was dominated by Democrats? Well, why didn't the Republican President warn us about the consequences of Democratic policies?

And anyway, what did the Democratic control of Congress have to do with the election of Allende in Chile, or *Ostpolitik* in Germany, or a Canadian prime minister who speaks about the American threat being greater than the Russian threat, or a Middle East that has all but been satellized by the Soviet Union, or an Indian subcontinent that is now a part of the Russian army, or an Indian Ocean that is becoming a Soviet lake, or a Mediterranean from which our Navy is all but excluded, of disillusioned friends in Taiwan and outraged friends in Japan, of a defense capability which in the opinion of Dr. Teller is so rapidly deteriorating as to leave us powerless within two or three years to oppose Soviet policy? You cannot blame all of that on the Democratic control of Congress—even if you are prepared to say that things would have been worse at every front if we had had a Democratic President, and will get worse still if a Democratic President succeeds Mr. Nixon.

That is one of the difficulties Senator Goldwater has to confront, in shaping his attitude toward a race by Congressman John Ashbrook in New Hampshire against Richard Nixon. It isn't as though Senator Goldwater abided by the rule that it is wrong under any circumstances to oppose an incumbent President of his own party. In the late Fifties, contemplating the budget of President Eisenhower, Senator Goldwater said on the floor of the Senate,

> Mr. President, the Republican Party is pledged by principle to strengthen the basic economy of this nation by the achievement of [certain] aims. To do otherwise constitutes a betrayal of the people's trust. Yet, here we have this abominably high budget request which is the epitome of inconsistency, when compared with statements made by many of my colleagues, and by the President in 1952.

It may be that the projected venture of Congressman Ashbrook will prove to be counterproductive. But his entry into the race is the expression of an élan vital in the conservative movement which has been strangely muted during the past several years, in Congress, where the stout old soldiers of conservatism used to do round-the-clock duty. No American conservative can ever live long enough to requite the debt he feels to Barry Goldwater. But he taught us so well, we cannot now, agreeing with him that the world threat is apocalyptic, accept with continuing docility the policies responsible for leading us to the brink. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Drugs or those who are addicted to them — 50 150 27 157 37 115 132 175 1

B. Jury tampering — 69 62 38 105 71 3 48 117 100

C. Wednesday was named for him — 125 116 16 51 154

D. New voters — 49 153 84 137 4 169

E. Submissive to restraint control, or command — 83 39 111 17 106 119 161 140

F. Fraudulent schemes — 95 5 28 63 127 158 41

G. To forcibly abduct or carry away a person from one place to another — 79 18 73 128 43 141

H. A prison in London, said to have existed as early as 1207 — 109 143 52 6 129 172 163

I. The unlawful making one's way into a dwelling or other house for the purpose of committing a crime therein — 23 31 53 70 40

J. Walked awkwardly — 56 144 86 149 44 173 162

K. To drug, intoxicate, or render insensible and ship as a sailor (not necessarily on a slow boat to China) — 151 29 61 171 133 75 166 96

L. The offense of unlawfully killing a human being with malice aforethought, express or implied — 25 64 112 136 45 21

M. Unfairness — 114 65 165 160 107 8 156 121 76

N. This is often behind the eight ball — 72 167 174 122 87 9 58 77

O. Contemptible persons — 7 15 19 26 97 67 81

P. An unlawful profit — 164 30 89 88 20 102 103

Q. Obtains or takes anything from another person by means of illegal compulsion or oppressive exaction — 170 120 10 54 113 32 66

R. Some —— hands were laid on Humphrey's life. (*2 Henry 6*, 3:2) — 155 78 11 59 90 55 98

S. To treat with unjust rigor or with cruelty — 101 91 104 12 80 33 130

T. Thin strips of type metal, used to separate lines of type in printing — 142 42 34 22 13

U. Answering no desired purpose; an economy slogan if made two words — 2 35 146 68 176 131 159

V. A drunkard — 74 108 145 177 123 138 92

W. Some people enjoy this — 139 85 99 46 135 14 168 110 126

X. Darkness — 148 36 93 152 47 24 57 124 118

Y. Unscramble THING — 134 60 147 82 94

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 62 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram

1 A	2 U	3 B	4 D		5 F	6 H	7 O	8 M	9 N	10 Q	11 R	12 S	13 T			
14 W	15 O	16 C		17 E	18 G	19 O	20 P	21 L	22 T	23 I	24 X		25 L	26 O		
27 A	28 F	29 K	30 P	31 I	32 Q	33 S		34 T	35 U		36 X	37 A	38 B	39 E		
40 I		41 F	42 T	43 G	44 J	45 L		46 W	47 X	48 B	49 D		50 A	51 C		
52 H	53 I	54 Q	55 R		56 J	57 X	58 N	59 R	60 Y	61 K	62 B		63 F	64 L		
65 M	66 Q	67 O	68 U	69 B	70 I		71 B	72 N	73 G		74 V	75 K	76 M			
77 N	78 R	79 G	80 S		81 O	82 Y	83 E	84 D	85 W	86 J		87 N	88 P			
89 P	90 R	91 S	92 V		93 X	94 Y	95 F	96 K	97 O	98 R	99 W	100B		101S		
102P	103P		104S	105B	106E	107M	108V	109H		110W	111E	112L	113Q	114M		
115A	116C	117B	118X		119E	120Q	121M	122N	123V	124X		125C	126W	127F		
128G		129H	130S	131U	132A	133K	134Y	135W	136L		137D	138V		139W		
140E		141G	142T	143H	144J	145V	146U		147Y	148X	149J		150A	151K		
	152X	153D	154C	155R	156M	157A	158F	159U		160M	161E	162J	163H	164P		
	165M	166K	167N	168W		169D	170Q	171K	172H	173J	174N	175A	176U	177V		

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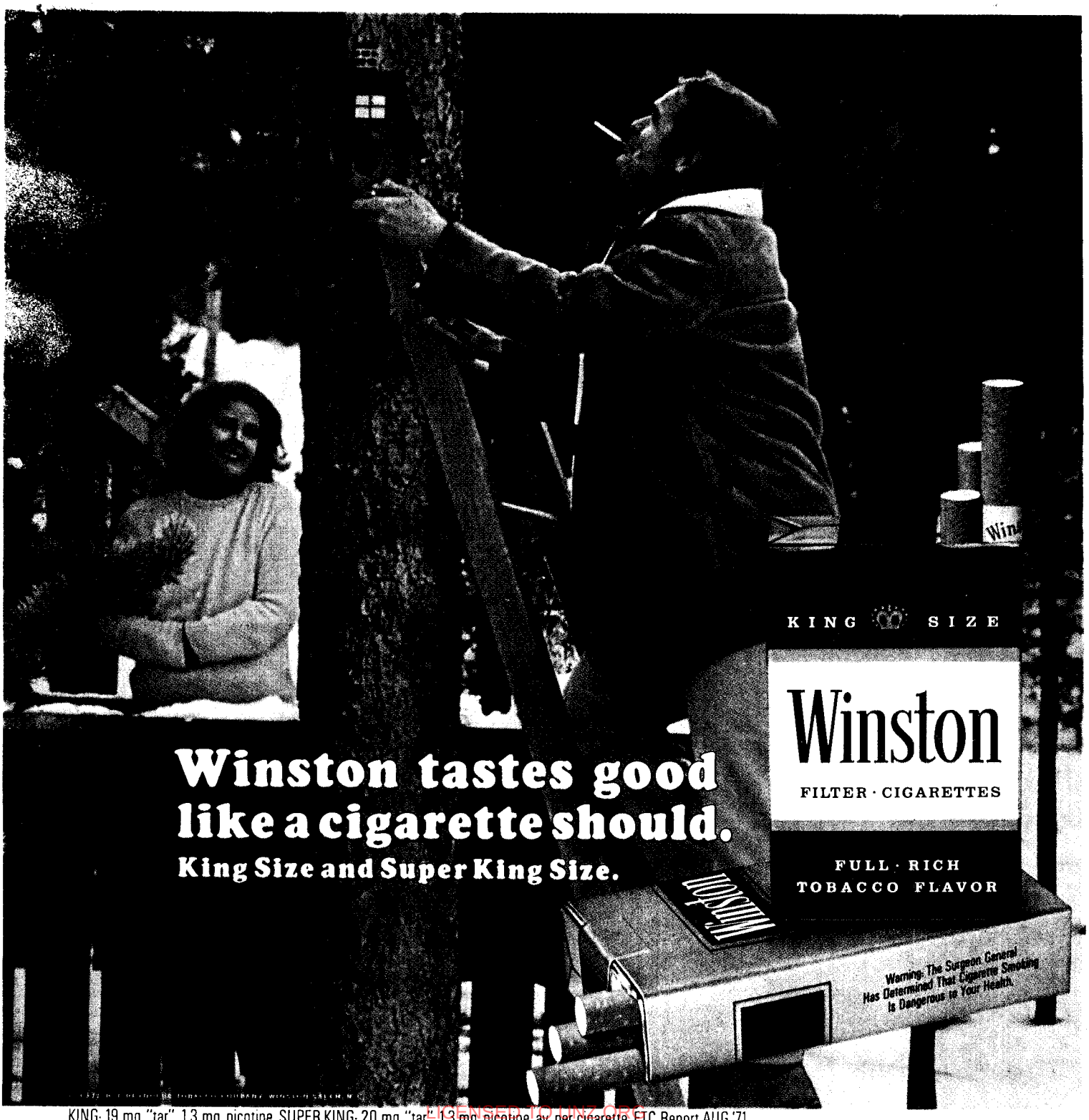
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